Pooh as GOP Candidate *Henry Fairlie*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 7, 1967, 35 cents

Negotiations Now?

Christopher Jencks Reports on His Talks with the Vietnamese Enemy

Black Control of Cities

Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward

Confessions of a Rebel

C. Vann Woodward on Styron's New Novel

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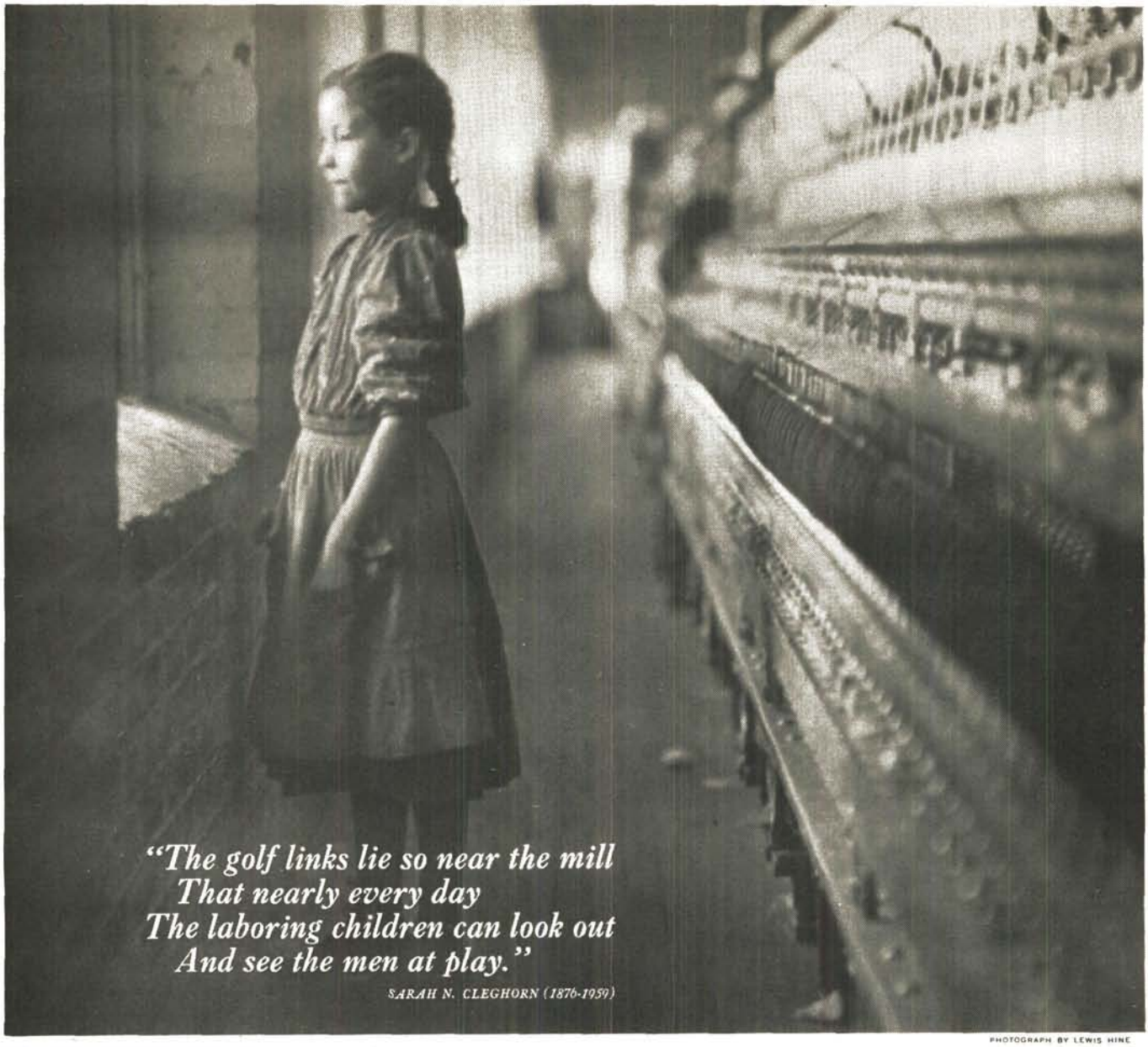
"The golf links lie so near the mill
That nearly every day
The laboring children can look out
And see the men at play."
SARAH N. CLEGHORN (1876-1959)

PHOTOGRAPH BY LEWIS HINE

She called it her "burning" poem. And it was. It helped ignite a flame of opposition to child labor throughout America.

"My quatrain was literally true," Sarah N. Cleghorn said. "The mill I wrote about actually stood in the midst of a golf course."

Today the American people owe a debt to people like Sarah N. Cleghorn and Lewis Hine, the photographer. Without her, one writer said, "the history of the United States would have been a different thing." Hine's photography, showing children working when they should have been in school, "was more responsible," the National Child Labor Committee said, "than all other efforts in bringing the need to public attention."

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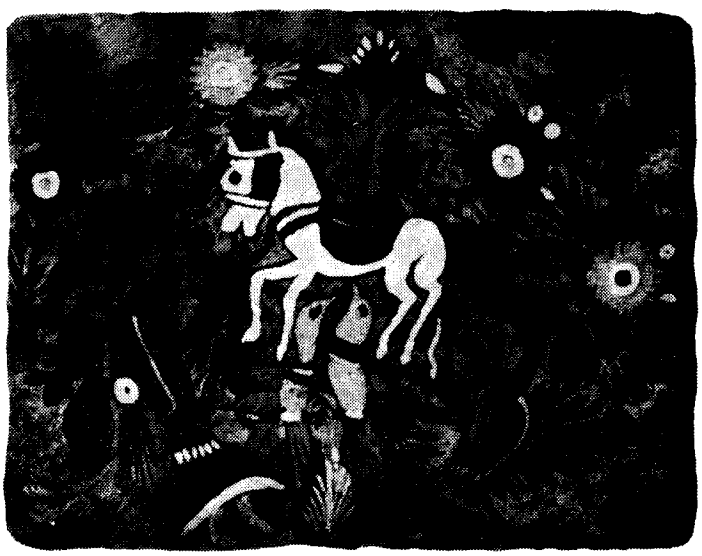

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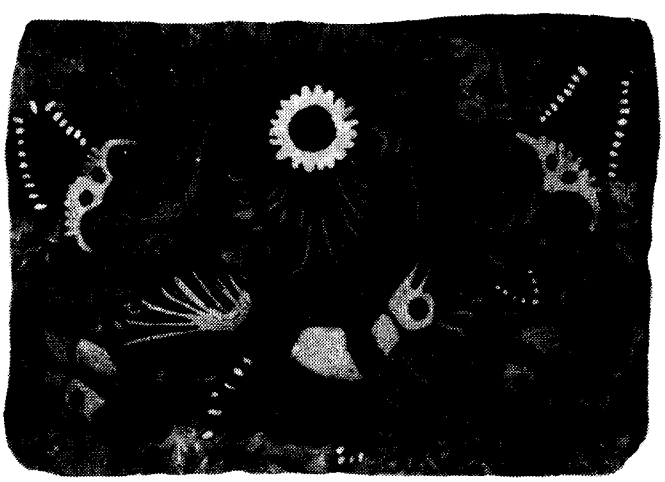

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

We've Been Brainwashed!

★ It seems there's no poverty problem in America after all. This wonderfully heartening news is inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Congressman Ashbrook (R, Ohio) from an article that we have just got around to reading from the *US News & World Report.* It's by John B. Parrish, and he's a University of Illinois economics professor.

It seems we've been brainwashed by a new "poverty cult" which is trying to scare us with fancy statistics. Parrish uses the word "hogwash," and the *USN&WR,* owned by millionaire David Lawrence, is delighted to spread the good word just as Congress debates the omnibus Social Security bill. It certainly is fine to know that young people are going out from the University of Illinois knowing that poverty doesn't exist. Oh well, maybe *some* exists; Professor Parrish agrees that there is a little – by "consumer-goods yardsticks" it covers "less than 5 percent" of US households.

Take the Smiths, the good prof says. They're a fine young college couple with annual income of $1,500 a year. Are they poor? Goodness, no! They have "adequate if not fancy food, and a secondhand automobile or motorcycle." They "aren't poor, and need no crocodile tears shed on their behalf."

Or the Joneses. They are in an almost idyllic situation. Professor Parrish explains that Mr. Jones has opted to retire at 60 in order to spend the leisurely autumn of his life visiting his children and "the country's great national parks." They own a small home and a modest automobile, both paid for, and have an income of $2,000 a year ($38.46 a week). Are they 'poor', asks the professor? Nonsense, he replies.

It's nice to think of such splendid families as these leavening the discontent of our times with their solid satisfaction. Imagine the Joneses sitting down to their evening meal in Illinois. "Not chili con carne again, Mary?" says Mr. Jones with a trace of asperity.

"It's wonderfully nutritious," she explains, "and we had some left over from lunch and breakfast."

"Why, of course, dear," he answers, opening the mail. "Here's the electric bill and the fuel bill and the telephone bill and the gas bill, and the real estate tax on our splendid little home has gone up $50."

"It's so nice we own our own home," coos Mrs. Jones. "Have some more chili, dear – that way you won't have it for breakfast again."

"I've been thinking," he replies, "how about a little trip." We have just paid the last installment, you remember, on our sturdy 1954 Studebaker and it's all ours now, free and clear." He opens the dentist's bill. "We might drop in on a national park. Or perhaps on one of the children."

"I prefer the children, darling. The last time we went to Yosemite in winter they had to get us out with a snowplough."

"You're the practical one!" laughs her husband. "Which child shall it be?"

Just then a tremendous racket is heard outside, and the doorbell rings. "It's that fine, free-enterprise young couple, the Smiths," says Mr. Jones, "on their motorcycle. They are doing famously on $28.84 a week; no need to shed crocodile tears for them, Mary. They do look a little thin. Always hungry, these young people! Perhaps you might put away the chili."

We can imagine what a merry, merry evening the Joneses and Smiths made of it, and how they roared with laughter at the concept of the government that an individual is poor whose income falls below $1,570, or a family of four under $3,200. By this criteria, one-fifth of the US population, or upward of 30 million people, are "poor."

But the affluent stockbrokers and businessmen who read David Lawrence's comfortable magazine know better, and so no doubt do the bright-eyed students of Professor Parrish. The lower classes have not found "the doors to medical service slammed shut. Almost every urban community has free or very low-cost medical service for low-income families."

I missed the professor's article when it came out September 4 because I was down in the Negro quarters of Belzoni, Miss., looking at the sordid shacks from behind whose cracked windows the hungry children peered out in wonder at a Whitey who wasn't a landlord, a cop, or an inspector. A family of four on ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) receives an average of $380 a year in relief in Mississippi.

The infant mortality rate for Negroes in Mississippi is about double that of whites and is rising, while that of whites is declining.

"We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition' is not quite what we found," said a panel of doctors of the Delta last summer. "The boys and girls we saw were hungry – weak, in pain, sick. . . . They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly, they are dying from them – which is exactly what 'starvation' means."

Well, it's nice to find it's not so. In some mellow big city club a well-heeled broker will tap the ash off his expensive cigar and hand David Lawrence's magazine across the arm of his leather chair to his friend from First National. "Excellent piece, Charles," he says.

Other statistics must be in error, too. That allegation that the world's richest country has been steadily dropping behind in reducing infant mortality, for instance. In 1950 the US ranked 6th among nations in conquering it; in '60, 11th; in '64 it was down to 14th.

Then there was that preposterous allegation of President Johnson that 60 percent of all poor people had never seen a dentist. Bah; humbug!

. . . When I was a child at my grandfather's farm they used to kill the pigs in the fall. They tied them up by their hind legs, shrieking and squealing before they slit their throats. Once we children protested bitterly. But the hired man was reassuring.

"They like it," he said firmly. We couldn't believe it. Their squeals, their heart-rending cries!

"They like it," said the hired man.

Today he's in Congress, voting against the poverty program.

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ADA Defers

Americans for Democratic Action decided on September 24 not to raise the question now whether Lyndon Johnson should be renominated. It was a negative boost to the President, for the longer he can keep Democratic doubters from casting about for alternatives, the safer he is, politically. ADA's national board, at the best attended meeting in its history, defeated by a six-to-one majority a call to repudiate Johnson; by about three to one, it instructed its local chapters that they could not join any "dump Johnson" movement; by the same majority, it rejected a modest suggestion that ADA search for other possible candidates. "In the clearest possible language," the national chairman, J. Kenneth Galbraith, explained, "the whole issue was deferred." ADA, Mr. Galbraith pointed out in another context, has a "long-standing commitment to political realities." As does LBJ.

None of these decisions meant that ADA approves of what is being done in Vietnam. Its board sees the "unwisdom of our present course"; it recommends ending air attacks on North Vietnam; it favors negotiations with all concerned parties, including the Viet Cong. In brief, it finds the food poisonous but defers advertising for another cook.

How does ADA hope to make the word (peace) flesh? By having a "peace caucus" strong enough to wedge a peace plank into the 1968 Democratic platform – a sensible project, but peripheral and even diversionary. The commanding political question is: who will be in the White House from 1968 to 1972? Who, therefore, will have power to carry out, or not carry out, any plank in any platform? Mr. Johnson has been around long enough to learn the many ways there are of interpreting the words of yesteryear – including his own. During the 1964 campaign, challenged by Goldwater, he said: "We are not going to send American boys nine to ten thousand miles from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves"; "we don't want to get tied down in a land war in Asia"; "we are not going North and we are not going South; we are going to continue to try to get them to save their own freedom with their own men, with our leadership and our officer direction and such equipment as we can furnish them." Give LBJ a renewed mandate, give him command, and the Democratic convention can put what it likes into the platform. Nor would it be beyond Mr. Johnson's mastery of "political realities" to embrace a "peace caucus" resolution. He has never wanted to bomb; he has never wanted Americans to die in Vietnam. Who more often than he has called for peace – if the "other side" would only be reasonable and give up? But as ADA's leaders were deliberating in Washington,

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other voices were being heard. A group of young men and women on the executive board of the Young Democratic Farm Laborite Clubs of Minnesota (the scene of one of ADA's bold maneuvers in '48) were voting to disaffiliate with their parent body on grounds that the national Young Democrats are "puppets for the Administration." That charge remains to be proved, but Vietnam was the determining factor in their decision. The Village Independent Democrats – one of three major reform Democratic clubs in Manhattan – (along with the Riverside and Lexington clubs) voted overwhelmingly some days earlier to oppose Johnson's renomination. That week, too, preparations were being made for an *ad hoc* national convention in Pittsburgh to draft Robert Kennedy. The General Gavin draft was on the go. There was rumor of a Eugene McCarthy boomlet. And out in Idaho, far from the ADA meeting, the *Intermountain Observer* was carrying two articles typical of growing popular disquiet with LBJ's Vietnam commitment. In one, a Republican who ran for governor as an Independent in 1966 agonized over the probability that the voters will be offered next year "neither a choice nor an echo"; in another, a Lewiston, Idaho, editor wrote about how Senator Frank Church, thought to be a "traitor" only months ago because of his dovish stand, is now regarded as a "prophet." "And perhaps the most revealing," the article went on, "was the comment of a friend who hasn't voted for a Republican since some of Franklin Roosevelt's policies bailed him out of the depression. 'What are we going to do about Johnson?' he asked. 'How can we get him out of there and get someone else nominated?' "

Within ADA itself, the balky young are kicking. So far in the sixties, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has held the campus spotlight. But the disdain of SDS for the elective process is not attractive to the majority of college students in the opinion of Elliott Abrams, a Harvard man who was campus ADA president this year. He believes the students want to work effectively in politics and that nothing would be more appealing to them, and more timely, than a "dump Johnson" movement. If Abrams and his crew take a lead in this, their ADA elders probably won't chastise them severely, though that is not the point: the undergraduates expect something more than a hands-off attitude from such leading academic lights as Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Richard Goodwin, Daniel P. Moynihan and others on the ADA board.

Allard Lowenstein, the charismatic young ADA vice chairman, though he did not try to persuade his colleagues on the board to endorse his "dump Johnson" campaign, is leading a Conference of Concerned Democrats, a loose amalgamation of anti-LBJ Democratic groups. He and his chief aide, Curtis Gans (formerly of the ADA staff), say they are finding the response around the country "overwhelming." The next major fight over Johnson's candidacy will come in November at the National Convention of the Young Democrats in Florida, and it already appears that Johnson's supporters will hope to salvage there the same thing they did from the ADA meeting: criticism of Vietnam policy, but "hands-off" the President.

What might ADA have done on September 24 that it did not do? It might have said that it's time for a change. Rauh did tell his colleagues, in private, that if "Kennedy, McGovern or McCarthy" were to become candidates, he would be "working for one of them right now." A statement that ADA would welcome such entry into the field in the fall of '67 would have put spirit into possible challengers as well as into millions of homeless Democrats. At the least, the national board could have invited its younger members to work for such a purpose, even though the old hands would have no part of it.

In earlier days, ADA was a rallying ground for reformers – fighting infiltration by the Wallaceites of '48; confronting tired machine types running the Democratic Party in the localities, who systematically excluded the new post-World War II breed; establishing a national, progressive, non-communist forum. It was the combination, not one facet exclusively, that made it a political force to be reckoned with. Can the same thing be said of ADA today?

Perhaps Mr. Moynihan offered an explanation of ADA's reluctance to grapple with Johnson in his luncheon address, when he said: "The war in Vietnam was thought up and is being managed by the men John F. Kennedy brought to Washington to conduct American foreign and defense policy. Most of us in this room know some at least of these men. Many here know them all. And we know them to be persons of immutable conviction on almost all matters we would regard as central to liberal belief, and further to be men of personal honor and the highest intellectual attainment. Knowing that, there are not a few of us present who did not contribute something considerable to persuade the American public that we were entirely right to be setting out on that course that has led us to the present point of being waist-deep in the big muddy. It is this knowledge, this complicity if you will, that requires of many of us a restraint in a situation that gives to others the utmost play to the powers of invective and contempt, the plain fact being that if these men got us into the present situation, who are we to say we would have done better?"

That will do as a statement of "political realities," as an acknowledgment of collective guilt, or as a reminder that gentlemen don't let their old friends down – but it fails as a response to the challenge facing Democrats.

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Ask Not What . . .

Is it only, as Senator Thruston Morton (R, Ky.) charged last week, that our policy in Vietnam is "bankrupt" because Mr. Johnson was "brainwashed" by the "military industrial complex" as far back as 1961? Kenneth Boulding, president-elect of the American Economic Association and visiting professor at the University of Colorado, has a different and more frightening interpretation. In an address to a group of economists in Boulder, Colo., recently, he put forward the thesis that America's real purpose in Vietnam is simply the killing of young Americans.

No institution, including the nation-state, can exist without legitimacy, Boulding began. Legitimacy simply means being accepted as right, proper, justified. As the fighting in Vietnam escalates, the war's legitimacy in this sense becomes increasingly suspect. And as that war cuts more deeply into America's capacity to satisfy the widening domestic demands of its citizens, the nation finds *its* legitimacy threatened.

Boulding outlines six possible sources of legitimacy for any institution:

► *Positive payoffs.* An institution that delivers such benefits for its members can easily establish a clear and obvious legitimacy that is hard to undermine.

► *Longevity.* Any institution that has been around for a long time has legitimacy simply out of habit.

► *Mystery and charisma.* Church, state and the professions often derive a certain amount of legitimacy from dim public understanding of what they are about.

► *Status symbols.* Impressive buildings, rituals, clothing, incense and music quite often serve to cement legitimacy.

► *Associations with other legitimacies.* In the alliance of church and state, for example, the Pope crowns the Emperor, the Archbishop crowns the King and the President is sworn in on the Bible.

► *Negative payoffs.* This is the heart of the matter. Where positive payoffs are ambiguous or hard to perceive, negative payoffs may be needed to establish legitimacy. When a country's ability to grant positive benefits begins to slip and it can maintain legitimacy only weakly through longevity, charisma, symbols and alliances, it must legitimate itself by demanding negative payoffs in the form of sacrifices. The negative payoffs, however, bring on the danger of falling into what Boulding calls the "sacrifice trap": to admit that one's sacrifices are in vain threatens a person's "internal" legitimacy or self-justification. Hence the need to justify sacrifices in terms of what might be called a "legitimacy of sacredness."

In Boulding's view, sacrifices create sacredness and sacredness justifies sacrifices. "The blood of the martyrs becomes the seed of the church, the blood of the soldiers becomes the seed of the state . . . and so on." Boulding contends the US is failing to deliver the positive payoffs and must fall back on the "sacrifice trap," in which its presence in Vietnam and indeed its own existence as an institution can be legitimated only by the blood of our soldiers, shed precisely for purposes of legitimation.

"The pattern here is that sacrifice creates legitimacy, which demands more sacrifice, which creates more legitimacy, and this process goes on building up until somebody finally says, 'To hell with it' and the whole institution collapses." This happened to the medieval church and the institutions of monarchy and empire, Boulding says, and is happening today to the Communist Party. It may well happen to the national state, in fact to the United States itself.

"A sacred institution which says, 'Ask not . . .' can get away with it for a long time," Boulding suggests, "until finally somebody asks."

Back Scratching

Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, is the prototype industry regulator, bigger on industry than on regulation. His philosophy of cooperation has business and government walking hand in hand down the road to progress. "We have evolved a special technique," he says, "combining public and private transport investment. One not only complements the other; in some cases, one makes the other possible." (For a fuller treatment of this theme see the full-page Alcan Aluminum ad in the September 29 *Time* which reproduces Mr. Boyd's essay, "How Should We Think About Transportation Progress?") The balance must be maintained between industry and government effort, or lack of it. Mr. Boyd, for example, opposed government investment in electric car research as "first and foremost the responsibility of private industry." A corollary to his principle of cooperation is that withholding government investment may make the withholding of private investment possible. No federal research, no electric car, which is alright with Detroit.

Mr. Boyd recently played with another "special technique," by which public officials and private industry can cooperate in reelecting President Johnson. At a Georgetown reception September 18, Mr. Boyd made a persuasive appeal to transportation lobbyists to attend a $1,000-a-couple dinner dance at the Washington Hilton October 7 to raise funds for Mr. Johnson's campaign. *The New York Times* writer who reported the event seemed to think the pitch somewhat improper, because he asked Mr. Boyd if he, himself, didn't think it improper. Mr. Boyd did not. This sort of

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fund-raising has become a political commonplace. It would not be so, however, if political campaigns were considerably less expensive.

The campaign financing proposal which is now up before the Senate (See last week's *NR* for "Footing the Bill") would help somewhat to weaken the dependence of politicians on big contributors. But at bottom, the Senate scheme is another concession to a very big business, an elaborate way to avoid offending the trustees of the public's airwaves. Radio-TV time accounts for about 25 percent of total campaign spending. In 1966 – in an off-year election – nearly $32 million was spent for radio and television political time. So long as broadcasters charge for air time, the campaign financing bill amounts in large part to public subsidy of wealthy broadcasters. If the old ratio applies, $7 million of the $28 million in public money the new bill would make available to the two presidential candidates next year would go to broadcasters.

Senator Joseph Clark pointed this out to the Finance Committee when it was considering a number of alternative bills, including one introduced by Clark to compel the networks to provide free time to political candidates. But the Senator's proposal did not prevail.

Dirksen's Switch

A "Dirksen Amendment" to the Constitution may pass the 90th Congress, but it won't be either of the Illinois senator's staples – reapportionment and prayer. It will be the amendment calling for the direct election of the President.

Sen. Everett Dirksen's emergence as a key sponsor of the direct election amendment offers a fine study of his style of maneuver. Originally, he backed a plan offered by his GOP colleague, Sen. Karl Mundt (S. Dak.), who would have each congressional district select one elector and each state two at-large (for the senators), thus placing the selection of the President at the mercy of legislative gerrymandering. An example of its effect is that it would have resulted in the election of Richard Nixon in 1960. But after a huddle with leaders of the American Bar Association, Dirksen switched. ABA is a key supporter of the direct election proposal of Senator Birch Bayh. When proponents found they didn't have enough votes to move that amendment out of Bayh's subcommittee, they cast about for extra votes. Senator Dirksen looked like a natural. He has been pining for a constitutional amendment bearing his name and his friends in ABA offered him a chance. He grabbed it.

However, Senator Dirksen then added a twist of his own. His substitute for the Bayh proposal provides for ratification of the amendment by state convention, thus raising the possibility it could be in effect by the fall of 1968. The last time state conventions were specified as the ratification vehicle was over 30 years ago when the country was longing for legal liquor, and it took only nine months to call enough conventions into session to repeal the Volstead Act. Senator Dirksen will only say he's "hopeful" the voters will be as interested in the direct election of the President.

That isn't all. Both the Bayh and the Dirksen versions say state legislatures may set registration and minimum age voting requirements, but add that this doesn't preclude Congress from setting uniform registration and age standards for presidential elections. It's more vague on the subject of third party entries. However, should either version pass the Congress by early next year, it is possible that Congress could be wrestling with uniform voting standards when the campaign gets under way in the fall. Such items as lowering the voting age requirement from 21 to 18 would undoubtedly enter the debate.

Rich Man, Poor Farmer?

The richer you are, the poorer farmer you seem likely to be. This seems a valid conclusion from a study made by Angus McDonald, director of research for National Farmers Union. The study is a bit tongue-in-cheek, since Mr. McDonald's point is that a great many of the rich court farm losses deliberately, to cut down their income taxes. Farming has long been one of the more fashionable tax loopholes.

This practice deprives the government of revenue, throws heavier burdens on other taxpayers, and helps drive farm prices down so that family farm operators find it harder to make a living and stay in business.

Mr. McDonald has analyzed 1965 tax records with the following results:

Of people with incomes greater than $1 million yearly, 119 engaged in farming. But only 13 reported a farming profit. Of those who make from $500,000 to $1 million a year, 202 were in farming; 32 of these showed a net farm profit, while 170 did not.

There were 3,914 persons in the $100,000 to $500,000 income bracket engaged in farming, and of these, 1,040 showed a farming profit, 2,874 reported losses. In the $50,000 to $100,000 income bracket, 4,974 were winners, 7,424 losers. A total of 69,132 persons in the $20,000 to $50,000 class had some farm income; 38,752 of them showed a profit, 30,830 a loss.

A total of some 66,003 taxpayers in the $15,000 to $20,000 income bracket reported that they were engaged in farm activity. Of these, 42,160 claimed a profit, and 23,843 claimed losses.

And on it goes until we reach the 793,689 persons in the $5,000 to $10,000 income bracket, 473,948 reported a profit from farming operations; 319,741 did not.

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Taking It Out On the Kids

One day in May the State's Attorney for Prince Georges County, Maryland, Arthur A. Marshall Jr., decided that too many mothers with illegitimate children were on the welfare rolls. He decided to find some mothers of illegitimate children and make examples of them. The mothers seeking Aid to Dependent Children came to him for his signature on a routine form stating that they attempted to find the fathers of their offspring. Mr. Marshall soon had his pawns, three mothers who happened into his office on the wrong day. He charged the three, who among them had borne five illegitimate children, with neglect.

A court ruling that the mothers could not be so charged until the children were first found neglected forced Mr. Marshall to drop the charges and institute proceedings to prove the children neglected under a section of Maryland law which says that a youngster living in a home which fails to provide a stable moral environment" is neglected.

Judge Perry G. Bowen, Jr., a man sympathetic to Mr. Marshall's crusade, was assigned to hear the case. The judge is a man of stern, Southern morality, but that did not inhibit him from using such backwoods language during the hearing as "he that pulls the zipper must be prepared to endure the deluge that ensues." The state's case consisted only of birth certificates showing the youngsters' illegitimacy. The attorney for the children argued that this evidence by itself was insufficient to prove the children neglected under Maryland law, which states that illegitimacy should be "considered among other things" in determining the existence of an unstable moral environment. Judge Bowen took no heed. Without even knowing what kind of home life the children had he ruled that they were neglected. His proof – the women had given birth to more than one illegitimate child. The first birth, the judge said, could be "a mistake . . . ignorance of the natural functions, the passion of the moment, the influence of outside forces. . . . The second time indicates lack of judgment and demonstrates an unstable moral attitude on the part of the mother. It reflects a weakness in her character and demonstrates a lack of minimum moral standards."

Even though he found the mothers morally unfit, Judge Bowen did not order the children taken away from them. He stayed all action pending an appeal to the Maryland Court of Appeals, but indicated that if the judgment were sustained he would "require" the mothers to utilize birth control devices "to study and understand birth control methods and practice them at the risk of losing" their children if they do not. The effects of Judge Bowen's decision are being felt in Prince Georges County. One mother has refused medical treatment for her son under a federal program out of fear her children will be taken from her. How many other mothers are similarly fearful nobody knows, but many needy mothers in the state will not apply for Aid to Dependent Children support.

Meanwhile, Mr. Marshall, who along with Judge Bowen regards welfare as "an act of grace" from the state, plans to initiate additional neglect hearings, choosing the families from among those seeking welfare, which is one of the few means of support open to them in their world of limited alternatives. His purpose is ostensibly to protect the well-being of illegitimate children living in an "unstable moral environment," but in fact he is working to prevent an increase in the number of illegitimate children on the welfare rolls – a goal with which many would agree if it were pursued with due regard for human dignity. Mr. Marshall and Judge Bowen seem bent on penalizing the living in order to prevent life.

The "Crime" of Marijuana

Physicians, like hippies, are subject to fads. Medical support was marshaled in the thirties for a Narcotics Bureau campaign to get marijuana outlawed on the grounds that it caused violent and sexual crimes and psychosis. With new restrictions on the books, doctors became more restrained in their judgment. The La Guardia Report, prepared by the New York Academy of Medicine in 1938, failed to corroborate the horror stories and concluded marijuana is not a drug of addiction, that chronic use over a period of years does not cause physical or mental deterioration and that marijuana might have therapeutic value! More recently, the President's crime commission reviewed the literature and found no support for claims of addiction. It largely reiterated the findings of the La Guardia study. When college health service officials met in Washington this summer they seemed to be saying, from their experience with students, that pot was not a medical problem. Many doctors present did not like marijuana, but, clinically they had not observed "bad trips."

So long as no one could find any compelling evidence of injury (no genetic damage, no jumping out of windows, no blindness from staring at the sun, as with LSD) against marijuana, the antipots were left with only vague, undocumented predispositions to fire their opposition. Fire needs better fuel than that.

So the *Medical Letter*, referred to by newspapers as "the authoritative *Medical Letter*" for the benefit of those who might never have heard of it, has now decided that the varieties of marijuana available for smoking in the United States cause "serious emotional reactions and adverse personality changes." These claims follow remarks made in Los Angeles by Dr.

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Constantinos J. Miras, a Greek pharmacologist, who believes that chronic smokers suffer personality changes, brain and other organ damage. Dr. Miras says he "can recognize a chronic marijuana user from afar by the way he walks, talks and acts." They are characterized by slowed speech, loss of inhibitions, and loss of morality. "They will even kill." Science has come a long way.

A current court test of Massachusetts drug laws applying to pot has brought out a parade of expert witnesses who cancel one another out with contradictory claims. Dr. Henry Brill, director of Pilgrim State Hospital on Long Island, who testified last week, considers marijuana "harmful and dangerous," a "hazard to public health," something that should be prohibited. What Dr. Brill finds objectionable about it is the "drop out" phenomenon characteristic of those who like marijuana so well they lose their desire "to do." The use of marijuana is responsible, he believes, for "vagabondage" – what the kids in the street call "the hippie thing" and middle-class society finds hard to deal with.

The doctors' controversy will not be settled in Boston, but the Suffolk County Superior Court may be able to do something about the real question: should something which may or may not cause "vagabondage" be punished by long prison terms?

"I'm innocent, I tell you! Innocent!"

More Soul-Searching On a Tax Increase

Joseph Pechman argued in these pages two weeks a. for an immediate tax increase to combat inflation a preserve social welfare programs in the face of t country's largest deficit since World War II. His ca is derived from the "new economics" of smoothing t the boom and bust of the business cycle by appropria monetary and fiscal policies. In time of boom this re quires cutting aggregate demand, private or public both. Pechman believes that given the political "fa of life," public expenditures for social welfare are lik to be cut without a tax increase. He and other econ mists assert that a tax increase is a more equitable wa to reduce aggregate demand than reducing welfa programs or increasing interest rates (as threatened b Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Fede Reserve Board).

This analysis assumes a great deal. First, even if w accept Pechman's economics and a continuation of th Vietnam war as given, equity would suggest that e penditures in *both* the private and the public secto be reduced, not simply private expenditures. The logica place to start cutting the government's budget is th $50 billion in non-Vietnam defense expenditures. Ther is no reason why Congress cannot do this, or why th Administration cannot refuse to spend some of th money the Congress already has appropriated Su cuts can be supported on the basis of the Administra tion's own foreign policy rhetoric. Since we are spend ing more to prop up our domino in Vietnam, thereb preserving the world from communism, we should n have to spend as much supporting dominoes in othe parts of the world or protecting ourselves from com munism at home. Other programs Pechman lists a being sacrosanct (like the supersonic transport, th manned space flight to Venus, the $2.5 billion in farm income stabilization, etc.) also seem to be in need o careful review. By refusing to increase taxes, Congre would pressure the Administration to do just that.

Pechman is "practically certain" that Congress coul not be talked into passing any tax reform measure this year. He probably is right. Economists are so quick to compromise on this issue that it is not surprisin to find congressmen joining them in sloughing off re sponsibility to reform the tax laws, even though elim nating the oil depletion allowance would raise $1 billion, and removal of the capital gains loopholes a other $5 billion in tax revenues. This would give th President more than the $6.3 billion he is asking fo from the proposed 10 percent tax surcharge.

All these measures, however, assume that a decrea in spending is called for at this time. The chief econom

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reason given for higher taxes is to avoid inflation and the "distortions and injustices" it would bring. The injustices come from the drop in real purchasing power of people with fixed incomes; the chief distortions would come in the financial and housing marks as a result of another round of tight money similiar to that experienced in 1966. Implicit in this argument is a value judgment regarding the social cost of rising prices and the benefits of lower unemployment.

The United States always has been inflation-sensitive and unemployment-insensitive. In postwar years, the US has had the *lowest* rate of inflation of any major industrial country, at the cost of one of the *highest* rates of unemployment (only Canada's has been higher). Between 1961 and 1966 our unemployment rate fell from 6.7 percent of the labor force to 3.9 percent, as we enjoyed our longest period of sustained growth in the postwar period. But although the rate of unemployment for nonwhites dropped by the same relative amount as that of whites, the rate for nonwhites still stood at a high 7.5 percent in 1966. There is no reason to believe that nonwhite unemployment cannot be made to continue its decline if aggregate demand is allowed to increase still further. This is a far more satisfactory method of attacking poverty than trying to maintain current levels of social welfare programs.

Many economists who favor the Administration's tax proposal point to the record for 1966 as an example of what can happen when spending increases "too much" and causes "inflation" (most of these same economists favored a tax increase in 1966). A close look at the structure of this price increase, however, suggests that it was not entirely brought about by a rise in aggregate demand.

In 1966, the price index of all goods produced rose 3 percent. One of the most significant increases in the index was registered by government purchases of goods and services (4.1 percent). While this may have resulted in some redistribution of purchasing power from the public to the private sector, such a redistribution is not one of the injustices which is usually cited in discussions of inflation.

The personal consumption component rose 2.8 percent. This increase resulted from the combined effect of a *fall* in the prices of consumer durables of 1.5 percent, a rise in consumer nondurable prices of 2.7 percent and a rise in the cost of services of 3.4 percent. The major factor affecting the price rise of nondurables was the 3.7 percent increase in food prices. However, as Gardner Ackley (the President's chief economic adviser) pointed out in the summer of 1966, the rise in food prices was caused mainly by a sharp decrease in the supply of some important commodities and not so much as a result of the increase in aggregate demand. Service prices were pulled up by a whopping 8.1 percent increase in the cost of medical services (due largely to Medicare). Would an across-the-board tax increase have curtailed the rise in doctor and medical fees?

Over a quarter of the rise in the consumer price index during 1966 can be accounted for by the rise in medical costs and the rise in interest, property insurance and taxes. Mortgage interest rates rose 12.4 percent. The fact that a tight money policy, which is intended to curb inflation, may result in a large increase in the consumer price index because of the rise in consumer borrowing costs would be alarming to anyone less devoted to restrictive monetary policy than Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board. In retrospect, one can argue that the Board overreacted in its efforts to cool off the economy in 1966, and thereby brought about the distortions economists fear will come again if we do not have a tax increase. However, there is nothing in the "new economics" which says that bad monetary policy has to be accepted as a "fact of life" and countered with bad fiscal policy. In short, the record suggests that a tax increase would have done much less to avoid the price rise of last year than its proponents would have us believe, and that many of the distortions they fear lie ahead could be avoided by a more enlightened monetary policy.

In the last analysis, the economist wears two hats: one as a professional and the other as a citizen. It has been argued here that from an economic point of view, the unemployment rate seems to be too high to warrant a tax increase. Nevertheless, as citizens, the appropriate questions to ask relate not only to the short-run effect of the tax bill on the economy and welfare programs, but what its passage or rejection implies for the continuation of the Vietnam war. [See the correspondence on this subject from economists Richard Du Boff and Edward Herman, page 38 – The Editors.] What does even several billion dollars less in social welfare in 1968, assuming that such cuts are even necessary in the absence of the surcharge, mean to the poor in comparison with a prolonged Vietnam war? The Administration has shown clearly that domestic spending and the poor will have to wait for the war to end.

It is becoming clear that President Johnson and the public see the tax bill as a test of the President's Vietnam policy. It is likely that rejection of the bill will be interpreted as a rejection of this policy and a repudiation of increases in spending on the war. In weighing the "injustices and distortions" connected with the surcharge, we must also consider the injustices of a continued escalation of the war and the distortions to our economy of a further expansion of the military sector.

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Latin Lyricism at the Foreign Ministers Meeting

Washington, D.C.

With cheery optimism, Secretary Rusk opened the conference of western hemisphere foreign ministers by telling newsmen, "we're going to have a very good meeting," and closed it with, "it's been a very good meeting." An Organization of American States staffer summed up more succinctly. "The resolutions will be more notable for their lyricism than their effectiveness." Fittingly, when it came time early last week for the ministers to sign a final declaration, they affixed their signatures to a blank piece of paper. Twenty of them – Mexico abstained – signed the blank sheet because the three-day meeting had dragged on so long that the staff wasn't able to provide a formal copy of the agreement.

The conference had been called to deal with charges by Venezuela– where the ruling *Accion Democratica* faces presidential elections next year – that anti-government guerrilla activity "was planned and carried out under the direction of the Cuban government." Little deliberation was needed: three Cuban army officers had been captured on an isolated beach where they had landed with a group of Cuban-trained Venezuelan guerrillas; Fidel Castro had proudly acknowledged his complicity. What the foreign ministers had to decide was what to do about it.

Cuba had already been expelled from the inter-American system (1962), and two years later diplomatic and economic sanctions were applied. All the nations of the hemisphere with the exception of Mexico have since complied with these sanctions. None of this has had much effect on Cuba. Although her never-large trade with her neighbors is at a standstill, she continues to be economically viable through her commerce with Soviet bloc and non-communist countries such as Britain, Spain, France, Italy, Canada and Japan. All steps that could be taken against Castro under the 1947 Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance have already been taken – with the exception of armed intervention, which is ruled out by the US because of its deepening military commitment in Vietnam and the possible effects of such a move on the Soviet Union.

What was left, and approved with varying degrees of unanimity, was a series of resolutions that can be described as another rap across Castro's knuckles.

Trying to put the best face on it, US representatives maintained the foreign ministers' meeting had only "limited objectives." One "limited objective" proposed by Rusk – a blacklist of firms doing business with Castro – was knocked out of the final resolutions. "A few of these companies have bigger incomes than some of the member countries," one diplomat commented. Also dropped was a Venezuelan call for "regional pacts" to prevent the crossing of frontiers by Cuban-exported guerrillas, arms and supplies. Some charged that regional pacts would be an entering wedge for the controversial Inter-American Peace Force sought by the US after its unilateral intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 – which they don't want.

What remained was a non-binding recommendation that the member governments refuse to ship government-owned or financed cargoes on ships that touch at Cuban ports and the denial of fuel bunkering facilities to them. Non-communist nations were asked to cease their trade and financial contacts with Cuba. The Soviet Union and its allies were asked to cut their support to Castro because it was being used to export revolution and endanger "peaceful coexistence." Cuba and the Latin American Solidarity Organization were condemned "forcefully." The United Nations was invited to take note of Cuban intervention on the mainland, this under a UN resolution introduced last year by the Soviet Union in an attempt to embarrass Washington on Vietnam!

Despite the impassioned speeches, the conference had an air of resignation: Fidel Castro's regime seems in firm control of Cuba. Even the production by Bolivia of less than convincing evidence that "Che" Guevara had been with guerrillas in the eastern jungles of Bolivia failed to attract much attention within the conference, itself. "After all, Castro has been saying for more than two years that 'Che' is alive and well," said a Venezuelan diplomat. "So what if it is or it isn't Guevara. The important thing is that the Cubans have admitted they are behind the subversion and terrorism." To many of the foreign ministers, including Antonio Carrillo Flores of Mexico, Cuba is a question for the two super-powers, and has been since the 1962 missile crisis. Delegates and observers shared a conviction that there was some truth to Khrushchev's statement that President Kennedy agreed not to invade the island in return for the withdrawal of Soviet missiles, and that Johnson has honored that bargain.

The OAS was originally conceived as a referee in disputes between members, but since the emergence of Castro it has been increasingly called upon to deal with internal subversion and communist intervention. In this it is severely handicapped by its passion for non-intervention as well as for a unanimity that requires watering down any proposal. It is an organization that permits the existence of dictatorships side by side with democratic regimes – allowing such governments as Haiti, Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil to sign pronouncements urging respect for human rights and representative government.

Nathan Miller

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Politics in the Forest

Pooh as the Kwin-ter-senshul Republican Candidate

A. A. Milne's account of the adventures of Winnie-the-Pooh is held together by Pooh's ambition to catch the Heffalump which, although it never appears, inhabits the story. Sometimes, Pooh will have us – or Piglet, rather – believe that it is not a Heffalump he is after, but a Woozle. But, Heffalump or Woozle, Pooh has no doubt that he alone can trap the Hostile Animal.

His stratagems often go awry. But he is never disheartened for long, for the simple reason that he is always ready with a disarming explanation. "I have been Foolish and Deluded," says he, "and I am a Bear of no Brain at All." Pooh is (as Christopher Robin would spell it) the kwin-ter-senshul GOP candidate. Thus, from the beginning, Milne establishes that Pooh is an instinctive capitalist:

> "If there's a buzzing noise, somebody's making a buzzing-noise, and the only reason for making a buzzing-noise that *I* know of is because you're a bee."
>
> Then he thought for another long time, and said: "And the only reason for being a bee that I know of is making honey."
>
> And then he got up, and said: "And the only reason for making honey is so as *I* can eat it." So he began to climb the tree.

Although his mental processes are slow, Pooh has grasped the essential point: wealth is created by the workers, but not for themselves. Without any doubt in his own mind, he declares his right to appropriate what the workers have produced; and, without more ado, climbs to get it.

Pooh is very much a believer in common-sense, down-to-earth, day-to-day, observation, though from time to time he feels that he ought to make an attempt to submit a problem to rational examination: "Winnie-the-Pooh sat down at the foot of a tree, put his head between his paws, and began to think." But nothing much ever comes from it. If Pooh had spoken to the Town Hall Luncheon Club in Los Angeles, in July 1966, he would have used words exactly like those of Governor Romney:

> "If this conflict really involves the question of our stopping communism, the international communist conspiracy, and stopping it in Vietnam, if this conflict is really being supported by the Red Chinese and the Russians, and if this really is naked conspiracy, then I think we have to weigh the question of how far, how much, we can escalate without their continuing to escalate, if they agree that that's the real issue in Vietnam."

Pooh's stratagems are always based on a battery of conditional clauses, of "ifs" and "maybes." Thus Pooh's explanation to Piglet of why he was "walking round and round in a circle":

> "Hallo!" said Piglet, "what are *you* doing?"
> "Hunting," said Pooh.
> "Hunting what?"
> "Tracking something," said Winnie-the-Pooh very mysteriously.
> "Tracking what?" said Piglet, coming closer.
> "That's just what I ask myself. I ask myself, What?"
> "I shall have to wait until I catch up with it," said Winnie-the-Pooh.

With this, Pooh sets about escalating his hunt, but he never forgets to weigh the question of how far, how much, he could escalate, without the Woozle or the Heffalump escalating, if that was how they saw the issue.

Unlike Rabbit, Pooh is neither sharp nor vulgar. Rabbit speaks for the exclusive suburbs:

> "You know how it is in the Forest. One can't have *anybody* coming into one's house. One has to be careful."

Rabbit would have opposed any open-housing laws:

> "Here – we – are," said Rabbit very slowly and carefully, "all – of – us, and then, suddenly, we wake up one morning and, what do we find? We find a Strange Animal among us. An animal of whom we have never even heard before! An animal who carries her family with her in a pocket."

Pooh is a great deal more tolerant than that, for he is very much of the Forest. *He is in the mainstream of its values*, more than any other of its animals.

Eeyore, on the other hand, has his own position to maintain as a sort of Minority Leader of One – and he does so with a maverick dignity. When Senator Dirksen, the other day, said, "The day I admit I've been brainwashed by any guy in this world, that day I should walk out," he was speaking very much as

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Eeyore does in his crushing asides:

> Sometimes he thought to himself, "Why?" and sometimes he thought, "Wherefore?" and sometimes he thought, "In so much as which?"
>
> "And how are you?" said Winnie-the-Pooh.
>
> Eeyore shook his head from side to side.
>
> "Not very how," he said. "I don't seem to have felt at all how for a long time."

Eeyore always gives the impression that he has been around from the beginning, that he has seen everything, that nothing much will ever change, and that if all the other animals in the Forest wish to take it out on him, then his hide is thick enough by now.

Tigger is something else. There is a stunt-man, certainly late-night-movie quality about him which has led some observers to make a false identification. Here, they think, is the Governor of California, newly sprung on the scene. When Pooh awoke in the morning, "the first thing he saw was Tigger, sitting in front of the glass and looking at himself":

> "Hallo," said Pooh.
>
> "Hallo!" said Tigger. "I've found somebody just like me. I thought I was the only one of them."

Tigger has a bouncy quality of mind which makes him attack any issue with the same excitement as the editor of the *National Review:*

> "Excuse me a moment, but there's something climbing your table," and with one loud *Worra-worraworraworraworra* he jumped at the end of the tablecloth, pulled it to the ground, wrapped himself up in it three times, rolled to the other end of the room, and, after a terrible struggle, got his head into the daylight again, and said cheerfully: "Have I won?"

The un-bouncing of Tigger is a classic description of what happens to an ideological Conservative who also wants not to appear brash, and to be accepted as jester by the Establishment. He becomes "a Friendly Tigger, a Grand Tigger, a Large and Helpful Tigger, a Tigger who bounced, if he bounced at all, in just the *beautiful* way a Tigger ought to bounce."

But amongst the various shades of attitudes represented in the Forest, Pooh alone can bring them all together. He always thinks that it is the day of the primary; very early, he is up and about, trying to find allies for some new stratagem.

Heffalump – or is it the Woozle? – is still in the White House. He has to be trapped. By breakfast-time, Pooh is touring large areas of the Forest, presenting himself as the only possible leader:

> "Is anybody at home?"
>
> There was a sudden scuffling noise from inside the hole, and then silence.
>
> "What I said was, 'Is anybody at home?' " called out Pooh very loudly.
>
> "No!" said a voice; and then added, "You needn't shout so loud. I heard you quite well the first time."
>
> "Bother!" said Pooh. "Isn't there anybody here at all?"
>
> "Nobody."
>
> Winnie-the-Pooh took his head out of the hole, and thought for a little, and he thought to himself, "There must be somebody there, because somebody must have *said* 'Nobody'."

His main hope is to have no enemies, and at his most downcast moments he relies on the assurance that he is just liked:

> "You're the best Bear in All the World," said Christopher Robin.
>
> "Am I?" said Pooh hopefully. And then he brightened up suddenly.

Still, there is always something not quite firm about Christopher Robin's encouragement of Pooh's stratagems. When the Governor of New York says, "Something happens in life and you lose ambition because you have a sense of fulfillment," he sounds very like Christopher Robin as he reaches the Enchanted Place: "What I like *doing* best is Nothing." But, when Pooh, after he had wondered for a long time, asked, "How do you do Nothing?" Christopher Robin's reply was ambivalent:

> "Well, it's when people call out at you just as you're going off to do it, What are you going to do, Christopher Robin, and you say, Oh nothing, and then you go and do it.

It is a nice description of how to wait for a draft by a party convention, to which Christopher Robin, one always feels, would not in the end have been averse.

But the real difficulty of the kwin-ter-senshul Republican, as he campaigns like Pooh, trying to keep as many animals in the Forest behind him as possible, is that the words he utters to please begin to tie him up: "My voice works before I'm ready for it." Frequently, before he holds a press conference to explain away some statement, Pooh may be observed going "a fast Thinking Walk by myself." And the more Pooh admits that his Brain is capable of being Foolish and Deluded, the more the other animals in the Forest are inclined to take him at his word. It is Piglet, who likes Pooh,

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(though he puts uncomfortable questions at Pooh's press conferences) who observes:

> "There's Pooh. Pooh hasn't much brain, but he never comes to any harm."

And it is true that Pooh has great survival instinct. As the primaries draw near, he is still there, trying to find a way out of a sand-pit. But "whichever direction they started in, they always ended up at it." Yet Pooh's political imagination is still working:

> "How would it be," said Pooh slowly, "if as soon as we're out of sight of this Pit, we try to find it again?"
>
> "What's the good of that?" said Rabbit.
>
> "Well," said Pooh, "we keep looking for Home and not finding it, so I thought that if we looked for this Pit, we'd be sure not to find it, which would be a Good Thing, because then we might find something that we *weren't* looking for, which might be just what we were looking for, really."

With that, he turns his face toward New Hampshire; and, somewhere in the Forest, the Heffalump is still at large. Or is it a Woozle? HENRY FAIRLIE

Black Control of Cities—II

How the Negroes Will Lose

by Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward

To shore up its coalition, the national Democratic administration has employed the time-honored strategy of fashioning programs to meet the interests of different groups. There are now several hundred grant-in-aid programs; federal expenditures to states and localities rose from $1 billion in 1946 to $15 billion in 1966 and will probably reach $60 billion by 1975.

Within the central city, groups profit variously from this strategy. The black poor get a little public housing, a modest antipoverty program, and may gain a bit of relief from the "model cities" program; middle-income whites get rather generous housing subsidies; and business and real-estate interests receive substantial urban renewal funds.

Some of the larger federal programs are partly or wholly suburban oriented: highways, airports, sewage and water facilities, mortgage insurance and tax write-offs for homeowners. With these subsidies, the national Democratic leadership is moving to win and hold the suburban electorate. It is also moving in response to powerful corporate interests which are rapidly decentralizing and want subsidized facilities and services.

In light of the fact that urban localities, especially big cities, suffer from limited taxing powers and a declining tax base (local debt per capita has quadrupled since 1946 while the per capita federal debt has declined substantially), the inducement of federal money should ease conflict and encourage Democratic adherence. But it does not. There are few federal programs to which some local group does not take sharp exception. In the central city, urban renewal for the affluent arouses bitter protest from uprooted slum businesses and residents; public housing generates fierce opposition from the neighborhoods selected. The federal highway program is stymied despite 90-percent financing: held up for years in New Orleans and Baltimore, rejected in mid-construction by San Francisco, and regretted on completion in Boston. To avoid politically bruising battles, big city mayors turn down some federal programs, stall on others in the hope that local tension will eventually subside, or simply ignore those which seem irrelevant to their concern with managing an increasingly volatile electorate. Thus public-housing and rent-supplement allotments are often not used, and many urban renewal proposals never emerge from bureaucratic mazes.

Nor are federal programs faring well in the suburbs. Although suburbanites want such federally subsidized facilities and services as highways, commuter railroads, bridges and jetports, each community is determined to keep out congestion, traffic and noise. Rumors about the proposed location of these facilities elicit howls of

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protest from one town hall after another. As a result, suburban communities also avoid federal programs, or implement them amid such acute controversy that victors and losers alike are embittered.

Two features of local government help to account for these difficulties. First, the historic mark of local government has been its populist character, its vulnerability to a wide range of electoral groups, and thus its inability to act on divisive issues. Local government is physically proximate to the electorate and hence more accessible than other levels of government; the constituency as a whole is smaller, so that a dissenting group is more likely to be prominent and influential; and since local government is less bureaucratized, decisions are more visible and susceptible to influence. Furthermore, local conflict has been sharpened in recent years by racial cleavage. The result is open controversy on virtually every public issue.

The second feature of local government which works to thwart federal programs is that it does not reflect the interests of its newer constituents. The central cities are still dominated by white ethnic groups which resist federal programs intended for the growing ghettos. Suburban governments are similarly dominated by long-time residents who try to keep out newcomers by upgrading zoning, and who oppose the intrusion of decentralizing corporate enterprises which would reduce tax burdens and thus make it possible for the less affluent to move in. For instance, wealthy residents in the suburban township of Harrison (Westchester County) furiously resented a plan to locate the headquarters of Pepsico there. Older suburban towns spurn urban renewal and public-housing funds for their growing enclaves of minority poor. Local government, in brief, reflects the influence of traditionally dominant groups. From a national perspective, these groups are declining in political importance and they block federal programs designed for those whose national influence is on the ascendancy – the Negro and the new suburbanite.

Local controversy not only stymies federal programs in the field but reverberates on the floors of Congress, spelling trouble for an antipoverty program, a model cities bill or an education act, and thus jeopardizing the legislation required to forge a new urban coalition. In these ways, local government hinders the Democratic strategy for building a metropolitan constituency.

Political Uses of Planning

To circumvent local resistance, the federal government is developing new mechanisms to field its programs. Bit by bit, as we noted earlier, a metropolitan administrative apparatus is being empowered to see that localities comply with a comprehensive plan drawn up in accord with federal guidelines. "The plan" will have extraordinary utility in securing local acquiescence. First, insisting that adjacent localities submit to area-wide planning as a condition for federal aid will bind them to a cooperative program. This is no mere window dressing. HUD recently indicated that it not only would require localities to join together to produce plans for "orderly metropolitan growth" but would enforce conformity to such plans by withholding project-development funds from recalcitrant areas. It cancelled a large grant for the construction of various facilities in suburban Washington because one of the participating counties had quietly rezoned without conforming to the area-wide "master plan."

Second, to get money for what it does want, each locality will have to undertake programs it does not want. Until now, localities have had considerable freedom to maneuver among federal agencies, picking and choosing among assorted offerings. Fort Lauderdale, for example, after accepting federal money for water-supply and sewage-disposal projects, abandoned plans to rebuild a Negro ghetto following widespread protests from white groups. And Fort Lauderdale is only one of about 80 localities that have turned down renewal funds in the last few years. By coordinating its various funding decisions – that is, by insisting on multifunctional planning and making each grant conditional upon the acceptance of other grants – the federal government has a better chance of inducing such localities to accept modest urban-renewal programs for their ghettos.

Third, "the plan" preempts future decisions; it requires long-range commitments at the time any grant is negotiated. Nor can such commitments be overturned easily, for they soon come to be reinforced by a network of related actions. If a bridge is projected, it will be linked to other substantial investments – highways, jetports, industrial parks – made in anticipation of it. To renounce the bridge decision at the point of final implementation means disruption of this network. Moreover, the long-range decision builds its own special constituency. The decision to build the bridge at a future date alerts builders and construction unions, business and real-estate interests. But affected residents are not likely to respond to remote events. And when the event is upon them, they may be powerless to overcome corporate interests which have developed extensive stakes in the venture in the interim.

Finally, metropolitan planning arrangements will help to obviate local controversy by screening local decisions from public scrutiny. Embedding individual decisions in a complex, multifunctional, area-wide, long-range plan obscures them from view, and the obscurity is deepened by the technical and scientific procedures which are a natural corollary to the emphasis on planning – a process said to require consideration of a vast array of factors, calculation of their interrelations, and so forth. All of this may improve administra-

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tive competence, but it will also vest greater power in planners and administrators. As the business of government comes to be carried on by a coalition of federal, metropolitan and local bureaucracies in the language of expertise, local groups and elected officials will become puzzled outsiders, lacking the specialized knowledge to perceive and articulate their interests.

If planning removes government decisions from popular purview, the rationale given is that the problem at hand is merely technical. Political issues are redefined as matters for experts to deal with, requiring the application of knowledge, not power. Planning thus brings with it a way of looking at issues which denies divergent group interests; as a result, groups are less likely to be alerted and less likely to align themselves against one another.

Even if the uninitiated could comprehend the intricacies of planning, it is another matter to watch over and influence planning agencies. Public bureaucracies thrive by getting things done. Because public exposure entails the risk of political impasse, they avoid scrutiny. Moreover, as planning becomes more complex and information more limited, local public officials and other affected groups will even fail to recognize and exploit their formal prerogative to review technical decisions. In sum, the language and strategy of planning are serving to centralize power for political ends.

We are describing an emerging pattern of metropolitan government: we do not contend that political leaders are conspiring to produce it. No secret blueprint exists. As each election reveals strains within a constituency, one or another palliative is put forward. When these programs in turn run aground on local reefs, new devices are sought to set them afloat. Sometimes the new devices don't work. Thus, direct funding of ghetto antipoverty programs to placate ghetto leadership antagonized the white ethnic party apparatus in the cities. Attempts to implement programs through metropolitan mechanisms have seemed to work better, and so they are repeated and extended. In this pragmatic way, then, the apparatus of metropolitan government is emerging.

How the Negro Will Lose

Whether these developments should be applauded or deplored is not easy to say. On the one hand, centralization removes government from popular control; on the other hand, local populism has generally yielded much harsher policies toward the poor and minorities than those of the federal government. But when oppressed groups obtain hegemony over local government populism works to their advantage. This opportunity now looms before Negroes, whose numbers are swelling to majorities in many American cities. From the perspective of the national Democratic administration, this is cause for little but apprehension, since Negro control can only deepen racial cleavages in the urban area. However, metropolitan reorganization, by limiting the traditional powers of the city, will mute the political effects of black ascendancy. Consider what might otherwise happen.

Perhaps some obvious, black control of city government will endanger major interests which depend on the city core. Until now city government has tried to hold back the spread of the densely packed ghetto and to reclaim the city center for business and for higher income groups. A municipality controlled by blacks is far less likely to protect these property interests, and surely not if to do so entails "Negro removal."

Black majorities also mean the alienation of urban whites. The frequent assertion that in time all whites will simply flee to the suburbs ignores the logistics of finding space for so many people, most of them not wealthy, in the already developed suburban ring. Millions of whites, unable or unwilling to leave, will remain in the core cities, a fact of key political importance, since they will fiercely resist the exploitation of municipal power for black interests. Moreover, whites have the organizational vehicles with which to fight on all levels of government, for they control the labor unions and professional associations and the host of non-governmental institutions of the city. What this spells for national Democratic leaders is the inevitable deepening of conflict in the cities.

Perhaps the most dangerous possibility is that blacks will emerge as a separatist bloc in national politics. The experience of political incumbency, and control of municipal resources, will work to consolidate a black electorate and city government will become the vehicle for black interests in the arenas of state and national politics. The impact on existing electoral coalitions can only be disruptive. How is the national Democratic Party to placate alienated white working-class groups and garner the suburban support it needs to build a new urban coalition when it must also answer to a black bloc? In short, the articulation of Negro interests threatens to have far-reaching and disruptive effects on national political alignments.

If the federal government is to prevent the exacerbation of racial conflict in urban areas, the political repercussions of impending black control of the cities must be averted. Metropolitan government will help to achieve that end by usurping many powers of the city. We can expect, as a consequence, that urban redevelopment will suit the substantial commercial enterprises in the central city and the middle-class professionals who choose to live near the cultural center. But clearly there will be no concerted efforts to disperse ghetto populations to the suburbs, as some liberal critics have hopefully predicted.

There will, of course, be programs for the black mi-

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nority: some housing rehabilitation, expanded educational programs, and a host of social services of the "human renewal" variety – programs which appease, guide, and control the recipients of service and which exact no visible toll from dominant groups. Local resistance, which until now has stymied even these programs, will be overcome, and that is what Negroes can expect to gain as the minority constituency in metropolitan consolidation.

The metropolitan planners will be especially sensitive to private and public corporate groups which have the resources and the foresight to spot their interests in the planning process and the know-how to make their way through bureaucratic labyrinths. The recently inaugurated Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Commission has a lay board of six, five of whom are executives in prominent private corporations. The board of the new Metropolitan Commuter Transit Authority in New York, which will control policy and planning for all transportation agencies in the New York metropolitan area, includes representatives of powerful public agencies, such as the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and the New York City Transit Authority, as well as previously quasi-public corporations, like the New Haven Railroad and the Long Island Railroad. This empire was created by negotiations among existing transportation agencies and with business and labor, trading in commitments to build the highways, bridges and other facilities needed by corporate enterprises in and outside the city, and by suburban whites. It is not so likely, however, to build the cheap, efficient mass-transit networks required to get Negroes from the inner-city ghettos out to jobs in the new suburban industrial complexes.

As for programs the Negroes will get, private corporate interests will play an increasingly active role. Witness the potpourri of recent proposals and the convocations of an "urban coalition" to induce private enterprise to invest in ghetto redevelopment (with government guarantees of profit). These corporations will work with the federal bureaucracies and their metropolitan offspring; together they will obtain hegemony over the ghetto and the city.

What, then, are Negroes to do? Were they a cohesive and disciplined political force, they might use their great numbers in the city to impede metropolitan reorganization. Although metropolitanism is probably inevitable, its growth can be slowed and its form modified. As the price for their cooperation, blacks could demand their share of space in the cities, massive investments in housing and education, and programs to guarantee employment and income. Of more long-run importance, they could bargain to retain substantial power for the municipal government to which they will soon fall heir. They could insist on the right to veto major metropolitan decisions, resisting arrangements in which the central cities are granted one vote along with each suburban township – as is typical in "metropolitan councils of governments."

However, even if Negro leaders were persuaded that an obstructionist strategy would yield benefits, the Negro community cannot be mobilized. It is not laced together by the institutional systems which are required to convert ethnic solidarity into economic and political power. If blacks already controlled the cities, they could exploit municipal powers to compensate for the institutional weakness of their community. But they do not yet control the cities, and metropolitan consolidation will be well advanced before they do.

Far from seeking to undermine metropolitan government, traditional Negro leadership will probably become its agent. Much Negro leadership exists largely by the grace of white institutions: white political parties and government agencies, white unions and businesses and professions, even white civil-rights organizations. Everything in the environment of the Negro politician, civil servant, or professional makes him attentive to white interests and perspectives. If black leadership were based in separatist institutions – particularly economic ones, such as black labor unions – it might be capable of some independence, but those separatist systems do not now exist. Moreover, metropolitan government will provide many new opportunities for the advancement of a Negro elite, and leadership will easily be absorbed. By abetting metropolitanism, in short, Negro leaders will forfeit much of the political power that impending black majorities in the cities might produce.

Creative Federalism?

It is the custom of American political commentators to interpret major government actions as – by and large – responses to electoral preferences, and sometimes to the preferences of special interests. But the urban electorate is surely showing no signs that it wishes state and local government to be emasculated. Indeed, according to a recent Gallup poll, 70 percent of the electorate thinks that the states spend money more wisely than the federal government.

Some policies are, of course, formed in response to well-organized interests which know what they want from government and how to get it. But policy is also used by political incumbents to activate special interests and to shape the preferences of an amorphous electorate. The legislation of the New Deal, for example, was not simply the reflexive response of Democratic leadership either to the sentiments of the electorate or to pressure from organized interests. Much New Deal legislation can be understood, rather, as the entrepreneurial use of government policy to cement the working class into a new Democratic coalition. Not so

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very long ago, urban problems were the special domain of the civic reformer and of the professional. Presumably urban conditions have worsened substantially, but it must also be recognized that government can cultivate public demand for programs, and then offer those programs in order to establish a constituency. This is especially true in the metropolis, where there is neither a tradition of federal responsibility to shape public expectations nor a unified constituency to speak for a "metropolitan" interest. And it is most true in the suburbs, where the electorate, left to itself, might demand little from a national administration other than that the black poor of the cities be contained.

Similarly, the intricacies of electoral districting and of allocations of power to various units of government in the federal system are neither accidental nor simply reflections of popular will. These structural arrangements are the object of continuous maneuvering by political incumbents to divide, aggregate and weight the plebiscite so as to form the electoral majorities which keep them in power. Through its expanding role in local affairs, the national administration is reshaping the federal system, preempting local powers, and aggregating white majorities in order to rebuild a Democratic urban coalition.

Summing up this approach, Vice President Humphrey said: "Federal policy has moved to meet the realities of an urbanizing nation . . . programs for urban mass transportation, open space land, public facilities vital to the community's life, stimulation of homebuilding for the low- and moderate-income market.

"By the 1960's, we recognized that we were not dealing with a collection of separate problems in our urban areas – but with one total, interrelated urban problem with many special aspects and needs.

"We began then to bring our lines of action together, to enact legislation to deal with urban planning and development on a coordinated basis, and to fashion the administrative organization that could weld these varied operations into a common policy and approach."

This is called "creative federalism" and hailed as fresh evidence of the adaptability of a system in which local, state, and national governments are partners, sharing a fluid and shifting power, and thus maintaining the conditions for a democratic pluralism. But the federal government now collects two-thirds of total tax revenues, while the municipal share has fallen from 52 percent in 1932 to less than seven percent today. The national administration does not enter the jousts as just another contender in local affairs. It possesses unparalleled resources, and it is employing them to subordinate local jurisdictions to metropolitan systems.

It seems clear that consolidation and centralization are inevitable, impelled by the technical demands of a complex corporate society, the expansionist tendencies of governmental bureaucracies, and, not least, the political needs of the national administration. Were the national administration to become Republican, the trend toward consolidation would not be reversed, although its direction would probably shift. Since Republicans must build their coalition from suburban and rural areas, federal agencies might join with the states to mark out "substate regions" as the focus for centralization instead of metropolitan areas. In any event, the end result of this process is likely to be not "creative federalism" but the demise of local government and the submergence of the minority which now stands to gain most from localism – the Negro.

This is the second of two articles.

Negotiations Now?

Reflections on a Meeting with the Enemy

by Christopher Jencks

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia

I have just spent a week here talking with Vietnamese revolutionaries: 12 from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North and eight from the National Liberation Front in the South. They included students, trade unionists, teachers, professional men, government officials, and revolutionary organizers, but many were also quite high up in their respective governmental or party hierarchies. Chosen and paid for by the DRV and NLF, they saw themselves as a diplomatic delegation rather than as private citizens. They presented a united front in both public and private gatherings, never contradicted the official positions taken by their

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leaders back home or at the conference, and exercised considerable caution in saying anything to the Americans which might conceivably be used against them or their cause. They came to Bratislava to project a particular picture of the Vietnamese revolution which they thought would hasten its success. Yet because they were talking to Americans whom they presumed sympathetic, and because the talks went on 18 hours a day for a week, meeting one-to-one and in small groups as well as in large plenary sessions, they managed to convey a more detailed impression of their position and attributes than one gets from official statements over the DRV and NLF radios, interviews with Western journalists, public diplomatic exchanges, and so forth. The impressions which follow are no substitute for what one could learn in a protracted visit to Hanoi or to what the NLF calls the "liberated zones" of South Vietnam, but these are extremely scarce.

A Strange Audience

The Vietnamese were playing to a strange audience. Because the Czech government offered to host the meeting – in a new trade union vacation hotel overlooking the Danube where we all ate, drank, slept and talked – the Vietnamese had to travel half way around the world and operate in what was clearly a very alien setting. Because the USSR insists that the Vietnamese pay for transport across Siberia in hard currency, most had come by train because it's cheaper, which meant that they had almost all been at least two weeks on their way. The Southerners had often been another two weeks reaching Hanoi from the jungles in the South – or in several cases from the NLF-dominated sections of Saigon. They arrived to find themselves meeting with about 40 Americans, chosen at their request in an unsystematic way by three recent visitors to Hanoi: David Dellinger, the pacifist editor of *Liberation;* Nick Eggleson, a recent president of SDS; and Tom Hayden, a community organizer from Newark and co-author of a book on North Vietnam. The Americans were mostly radical, mostly under 30, and mostly active in the anti-war movement (though I was an exception to all these generalizations). They came not as a delegation but as individuals, each raising his own air fare, each contradicting the others both publicly and privately, and each free to say or write what he chose after returning home. There were no visible American representatives of either the Communist Party or the Progressive Labor Party.

The single strongest impression I got at Bratislava was the extent to which the Vietnamese present, from North and South, assumed the future of their country will be decided militarily rather than politically. Over and over they insisted that despite its enormous resources the US was losing the war. They may be whistling in the dark, but they certainly whistle in unison. Far from being crushed by the bombing, the Northerners claim they are managing better than anyone had expected and are forcing the US to pay an enormous price in both planes and pilots. They expect President Johnson to remove the last remaining constraints on the air war and hit the 50-odd targets which the Pentagon states are still prohibited. (A number of these allegedly prohibited targets have already been hit, the Vietnamese say.) They claim that they have already taken such an escalation of the bombing into account and can continue to support the NLF despite it. Even saturation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, in their view, would not destroy either the DRV's political stability or its capacity to continue the war. (Mr. McNamara seems more or less to agree with them on this point.) Earlier in the year they were quite worried that the US might intensify its bombing of the Red River dikes and waterworks to the point where the whole Delta would be flooded, hundreds of thousands of people drowned, and much of the rice crop destroyed. The rainy season is now ending in the North, however, and the threat of large-scale floods has diminished with each passing day.

I asked about other possible forms of escalation. The North Vietnamese doubt that the Americans will use either atomic weapons or lethal biological and chemical ones, since the entailed risk of Chinese and/or Soviet retaliation would be too great. Their allies, they said, would "not stand idly by" in that event. Nor do the Vietnamese consider a land invasion likely. Their nonchalance on this score stems not from any illusions about moral or political restraints on the Johnson Administration, but from their belief that an American invasion would fail, and that the Americans are fully aware of it.

The Northerners justify their optimism on this last score by citing military developments in the South. American initiatives such as the *Junction City* and *Cedar Falls* operations are said to have cost the Americans dearly and to have accomplished nothing. The NLF portrays the American expeditionary force as more and more on the defensive, with almost all US troops defending fixed positions, bases and cities, and with the military initiative in the countryside shifting to the NLF. The NLF also claims that American casualties are much higher than Washington admits. (The discrepancy may derive in part from different methods of reckoning casualties: the NLF counts any soldier who is even temporarily out of action as a casualty, even if he is disabled by tropical disease rather than snipers or mortars.) The Vietnamese say they can tie down as many as a million US troops in the South alone. If this is true, an American invasion of the North does indeed seem improbable – though of course an expeditionary force of two or three million men is always possible.

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The North Vietnamese have had years to prepare for such an invasion and have an army in the North nearly as large as the American force now in the South. They would be fighting a defensive war, on their own territory, with extremely short lines of supply and the same kind of armed guerrilla support from the local population that has made the NLF potent in the South.

In brief, the NLF and DRV believe time is on their side; otherwise they would negotiate a compromise now. Nothing I heard in Bratislava gave the slightest hint of any interest in such a solution. Several Vietnamese did suggest privately that a negotiated compromise might have been possible three years ago, before the deployment of regular American military units in the South and the bombing of the North. At that time, they told me, the NLF was quite worried about whether it would be able to stand up against American ground forces; the DRV was equally uncertain about its capacity to withstand American bombing and possible invasion. Rather than risking defeat, some in both North and South evidently urged negotiations aimed at getting at least half a loaf. But the Americans showed no interest in offering even half, it was said, and would not even offer the NLF a place in the government.

By now, both Northerners and Southerners have seen what the US can do, and they say it is not as formidable as they feared it might be. Since they are certain the Americans cannot defeat them militarily, they assume that sooner or later America will grow weary, pack up and go home, and that all the Vietnamese need to ensure ultimate victory is patience, courage and stoicism, which they seem to have in abundance.

The Vietnamese tell of a conversation between Ho Chi Minh and the French representative in Hanoi, during which Ho warned the French not to try to reestablish control over Indochina. "You can kill 10 Vietnamese for every Frenchman we kill," he is reported to have said, "but we are willing to pay that price and you are not." Today not even the Pentagon claims it is killing 10 Viet Cong for every American, and the NLF is even more committed than were the Viet Minh in 1945. NLF cadres endured one compromise settlement in 1954 and found the peace it brought worse than the war it ended. Many were jailed, tortured or killed because of real or imagined loyalty to Hanoi. Those Southerners in the Viet Minh who had been regrouped in the North as stipulated in the Geneva Agreements had expected it would be safe to return South to their families after elections in 1956, which they assumed Ho Chi Minh would win. There were no elections. They have no reason to expect better treatment from General Thieu than they got from Diem, so they see the choice between victory and death. Does this uncompromising line mean there is no room for real negotiation? Before 1954, after all, the Viet Minh talked tough, but then it accepted the Geneva compromise. Might such a sequence be repeated? None of the Vietnamese at Bratislava were in a position to answer that question categorically, but I got no sense of any desire for compromise. One reason for this is the failure of the earlier compromise. Washington and Saigon opposed elections in '56 and this taught the Vietnamese revolutionaries to read agreements skeptically.

I came to Bratislava fearing that the Vietnamese overestimated the influence of anti-war protests in America and were counting on liberals and radicals to end the war. I saw no sign of this. The DRV and the NLF are not counting on American high-mindedness; they are counting on American impatience and common sense. They think that if they go on killing American boys and shooting down American planes, the US will eventually recognize that it cannot impose its will on Vietnam. Until this happens, the killing must go on.

The Americans, they reason, have far less at stake than they. Withdrawal from Vietnam would increase the life expectancy of American fighting men, not decrease it. (Both the DRV and the NLF find it understandably difficult to imagine that some Americans regard withdrawal as dishonorable, unpatriotic, or even treasonable. They assume that Americans are in Vietnam for reasons of self-interest, and since they are sure the war is not in the American interest, they conclude it will soon be stopped.)

They Have a Special Mission

The younger generation of Vietnamese, we kept hearing, has never known peace. In order to justify the incredible hardships to which they have been subjected, the Vietnamese revolutionaries believe they have a special mission: to prove that America is not invincible. They believe that they have met this challenge, and that subsequent generations of revolutionaries, and indeed the whole underdeveloped world, will be in their debt. As one of them said to me, compromising now would betray this historic achievement and the hundreds of thousands who have died in its behalf.

This feeling that the war has given the Vietnamese special responsibilities comes out in other ways. One North Vietnamese argued that the war was the only thing preventing a complete rupture between China and Russia. The outcome of the war would, he said, show who was right and who wrong (presumably by vindicating the Chinese demand for militant confrontation with the West). Not only that, but having won the war the Vietnamese would be able to take sides in a way they now cannot; their prestige as the nation which had defeated America would be of decisive importance in uniting the communist nations on a "correct" line. Vietnam may be a small, impoverished country in an unimportant corner of the world, but its revolutionaries do not suffer from modest ambitions.

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When I asked whether they thought similar revolutions might succeed in Thailand and Malaya, however, I got the terse reply that "the level of political consciousness there is very low." The Vietnamese revolution, they explained, depended on historical circumstances and a cultural style unique to Vietnam: on a tradition of village autonomy, self-sufficiency and self-government; on a tradition of resistance to foreign hegemony, be it Chinese, French or American; and on the fusion of nationalism and communism achieved by Ho and his collaborators in the early 1940's.

Several Americans asked about the paper published in the name of Che Guevara earlier this year, wherein Guevara called for three or four more Vietnams as a way of dividing American military power and reducing the resources available to suppress any one revolution. The Vietnamese were skeptical. They did not think revolutions like Vietnam's can be called into existence by leaders meeting at conferences, that a revolution such as theirs can only come "from the people," without whose whole-hearted support no revolution can withstand American military power. They thought Castro had been fortunate in being pitted against a dictator as unpopular as Batista and in never having confronted American ground forces.

The Vietnamese thus disagree with the Cuban theory of revolution. Guevara and Castro hold that revolution must *begin* with an armed uprising, that only after guerrilla units have shown that the power of the established government is not as great as it appears will the people begin to support them. The Vietnamese insist that political education and organization must come first; that only after widespread popular support has been mustered can a revolutionary movement resort to arms, for only then can it hope to survive government reprisals. Their own revolution, they say, exemplifies this approach and proves its validity.

NLF Nationalism

The Vietnamese in Bratislava did not strike me as fanatics. If a settlement were to serve their primary purpose – currently the expulsion of American influence – I think they would consider it quickly enough. Just before the recent elections in South Vietnam, for example, the NLF published its new political program, much of which could have been drafted (though certainly not implemented) by a progressive AID planner. It says nothing of socialism and is explicitly aimed at rallying support for the NLF from all classes of Vietnamese society. From the viewpoint of the PRP (South Vietnam's Communist Party and by almost all accounts the dominant force in the NLF) the program is moderate. Class warfare, the establishment of a socialist state, and so forth are all subordinated to the overriding objective of expelling the Americans and establishing the principle that Vietnamese society must be determined by the balance of forces among the Vietnamese themselves.

For the moment, then, the NLF is more nationalist than communist in its appeal. Like all forms of nationalism, it employs a lot of demagoguery and a lot of lies. But I do not think it is basically cynical or fraudulent. At Bratislava the Vietnamese often referred to their "sacred war of liberation." They appeared to be genuinely concerned with moral and cultural as well as political and economic issues. The NLF wants to cleanse Vietnam of alien influences which it thinks have corrupted Vietnamese society. The DRV admits it still has opium eaters, but the Vietnamese prefer native to foreign corruption. Conversation kept returning to the brothels and music halls which cater to Americans in Saigon, a subject which moved the Vietnamese in Bratislava more than it did the Americans.

But this is only a symbol of the corruption attributed to European and American influence. The NLF also complains that South Vietnamese universities are still conducted in English and French. The Northerners, on the other hand, point with pride to the fact that their universities are taught entirely in Vietnamese – which also means almost entirely *by* Vietnamese. In a similar vein NLF propaganda booklets point out that the NLF provides medical training for men and women who staff its clinics, and that the training emphasizes traditional Vietnamese methods and remedies, including acu-puncture. This is not what one would expect from scientific socialists, but precisely what one would expect from national rejuvenators.

How much popular support in Vietnam is there for this kind of revolutionary, passionate nationalism? Americans I know who have spent time working for the US in South Vietnam return saying that the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese seem profoundly apathetic about politics, support neither Saigon nor the NLF, and want only to be left alone. Listening to the NLF representatives in Bratislava I got the feeling that what looks like apathy to outsiders might be a defense mechanism akin to the one often used by southern Negroes in dealing with whites. It was not so long ago that everyone said southern Negroes were apathetic. In a sense this was true: most Negroes wanted to stay out of trouble and they knew that political activism and civil rights involvement meant trouble. But this did not mean they were "neutral" as between SNCC and George Wallace. Their sympathies were with "the movement," and this came out into the open once it was fairly safe. As one NLF representative pointed out, every Vietnamese is under constant pressure to *appear* to support whoever is talking to him, be it an American or a Saigon official (or, he might have added, an NLF guerrilla). The NLF claims, and the Pentagon privately admits, that there are literally

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thousands of villages in the South which are outwardly loyal to Saigon, but in which even the government officials are in fact working with the NLF.

Killing "Collaborators"

The State Department has frequently suggested that the South Vietnamese only collaborate with the NLF because of terrorism – assassination of government appointed village chiefs, school teachers, nurses, random violence against civilians (e.g. blowing up a school bus). There is no question that the NLF engages in political assassination, though the Vietnamese never used that word at Bratislava. (They spoke of "collaboration" with the "puppet government" being "punished.")

The NLF claims to control about 80 percent of the real estate and two-thirds of the people in South Vietnam, though it is not clear what "control" means. (A study reported to *The New York Times* estimates that only 126 of 12,000 Vietnamese villages are "secure.")

Whatever the figure, Saigon has not accepted loss of control passively. There are Saigon officials in many of these insecure villages. Some are covertly working for the NLF, we were told, but some are not. Those who work for Saigon are seldom innocent humanitarians trying to go about their business in a nonpolitical way. Saigon tries to use them as government agents in the broadest sense, and one of their primary jobs is to inform Saigon who in their village supports the NLF, what kinds of guerrilla activities are taking place, and so forth. This information is used to make arrests, to determine which villages to destroy and relocate in strategic hamlets, and to direct military reprisals. In such circumstances, we were told, a government supporter is not simply a political opponent, he is a spy, and the fact that he may do humane and useful work from nine to five is irrelevant. Such men bring death to the NLF where they can, and the NLF prefers to strike first.

Buildings, buses and bridges are frequently blown up; civilians die. The NLF spokesmen were quite candid about this. If one blows up a bar frequented by American soldiers, some Vietnamese are likely to be killed. If one puts a primitive mine in a road intending to attack a troop convoy, it may not go off when planned, but may detonate a week later, killing one's allies instead of one's enemies. These are the hazards of war. The NLF with their smaller weapons may do better at avoiding them than the Americans, who kill civilians when they bomb unfriendly areas or shell the wrong village by mistake. (Last week, a US spokesman warned peasants living near the demilitarized zone to flee if they want to save themselves and their children from a "rain of death and destruction" in massive B-52 bombing raids.)

The revolution has been a long and bloody affair, and Vietnamese we met never seem to have had any real alternative to violence. South Vietnam, they point out, was a totalitarian police state from its inception in 1954; the government sought to monitor every thought and every movement of its citizens, both because it feared they were secretly working for Hanoi and the NLF, and also because it thought this would hasten economic development. Saigon provided no way to change this system without violence. The recent elections, we were reminded, excluded not only NLF supporters ("communists") but opponents of the US presence ("neutralists"). Under these conditions, political choices become: acquiescence or revolution.

The North Vietnamese at Bratislava offered a ritual, and improbable, denial that they had any military units operating in the South. They made no secret of the fact, however, that they were helping support the NLF in every other way – indeed, they boasted of it. The NLF and the DRV are lineal descendants of a single revolutionary movement with a single leader prior to 1954. They have collaborated in a wide variety of ways, and seem to have essentially similar objectives. There were, it is true, small differences of emphasis in their presentations at Bratislava. (The Southerners talked less about international law, for example.) Southerners, rather like American Southerners, have had different historical experiences and come from a rather different cultural tradition. But I heard nothing which would lead me to suppose that these differences would have important implications for Americans, any more than North-South differences in America are of any great importance to the Vietnamese.

While both North and South Vietnamese say that national reunification will be a long, complex business (one suggested it might take ten years once the war is over) indefinite partition would not be acceptable. The NLF has no charismatic leadership of its own around whom Vietnamese separatists might rally. This void, which has spelled failure for other modern revolutionary movements, was filled in the NLF's case by practical experience, an organization, and a mystique inherited from the Viet Minh. The NLF representatives at Bratislava were inclined to play down the importance of the logistical and manpower support they get from the North, emphasizing their near self-sufficiency and by implication their ability to carry on even if Northern help were curtailed. Nonethless, Hanoi obviously plays a crucial role and in terms of diplomacy and strategic planning the NLF-DRV relationship is very close.

The picture which emerges from the Bratislava meeting is, then, a nightmare for those dreaming of "negotiations now." If the military situation is as described to me, why would "the enemy" compromise?

This is the first of two articles.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *"Fair Use"*

Now the electronic age touches off still another unpredictable effect: possible changes in the concept of authorship. No, this is not another treatise on McLuhanism – quite the reverse. It is an argument that, on evidence, the electronic age is *enhancing* the linear medium and that this is exactly what is raising new problems.

Since 1710, when the "Queen Anne statute" was passed, the property rights of an author in his work have been well recognized. Often (in early 19th-century America, for instance) those rights were pirated, but it was always with a knowledge that legal loopholes had to be used. The primary right is in the word "copyright" itself: the right to make copies. Books are printed and copies are sold, and the only way to get a copy legitimately is to buy one from the man who has a right to make it. *And the purchase of a copy gives you no right to make a copy of your own.* This is how authors and publishers get a return for their creation and investment, and it has seemed just. Now a new justice is being proposed.

It begins with technology. Here is a line from the copyright page of a book just published: "No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher." This protective statement would not have been seen as recently as ten years ago; it is needed now. The computer, the microfilm and microfiche, and television have created a new social environment for the book – so new that two standard reference works, Nicholson's *Manual of Copyright Practice* (1956) and Wittenberg's *Law of Literary Property* (1957), do not even mention most of these factors and treat television only in its entertainment form, not in its instructional form. The opportunities for the use of authors' work – mostly in education and research – have increased staggeringly in the last decade; but the payment of authors proportionately for this increase has been questioned. Technological growth is, by implication, taken as a reason for *not* paying him proportionately.

A revised copyright bill submitted by Senator McClellan (S. 597) is now before the Senate Judiciary Committee, and some of its provisions are much-needed improvements. (The same bill was submitted to the House by Representative Celler as H.R. 2512 and was passed in April with some amendments.) Under this bill the term of copyright would be the life of the author plus 50 years, thus following the British formula. (At present US copyright is for 28 years from publication and may be renewed for 28 years. The renewal is not automatic – it must be applied for.) But the most pertinent sections of the McClellan bill are those dealing with "fair use," that is, the use that may be made of copyrighted material without payment to the copyright owners. This new bill takes cognizance, very philanthropically, of the new technological environment for books. For example, under this bill no payment need be made to a copyright owner if a book is microfilmed and then run off repeatedly as long as "the performance or display is a regular part of the systematic instructional activities of a governmental body or a nonprofit educational institution." No payment need be made if the work is broadcast for similar purposes within a radius of a hundred miles (this restriction was stricken from the House bill) as long as "the time and content of the transmission are controlled by the transmitting organization." Think of the decrease in book sales to and in schools because of those provisions alone (there are more) – and with no compensatory payment for infinitely repeated use of the material.

The matter of library files of copyrighted material also arises. In this field an experiment is being launched by the federal government's Educational Research Information Center (ERIC) working with two publishing groups, the American Textbook Publishers Institute and the American Book Publishers Council. ERIC, which has 18 centers around the country specializing in various subjects, will ask publishers for the right to reproduce material for their files. Each publisher will either grant the right for reproduction in hard copy and microfiche; or for microfiche only; or will refuse altogether. If the publisher agrees (and agreement seems the purpose of the project), he will be expected to supply a copy of the book free.

ERIC will pay for copies only of high-priced books or "low-volume" ones (books that aren't selling). Presumably there will be no payment to the author for his material.

The educational community will have access to these ERIC files for one year. During a further year, studies will be made of the use that was made of the files, then the material will be destroyed.

The experiment may prove to be of some use to authors and publishers, particularly in connection with a point raised recently by Charles H. Lieb. Mr. Lieb, a lawyer who has had experience in publishing affairs, spoke at the last annual meeting of the American Bar Association on the subject of computers and copyrights. (His talk is in *Publishers' Weekly*, Sept. 18, 1967.) "The price of a book today," said Mr. Lieb, "is based on the publisher's estimate of the number of copies that will be sold for reading in book form." Possible use by computers of the material in the book gravely affects that estimate. ". . . The publisher in advance of publication must be able to make a reasonably accurate estimate of the revenues he will receive for computer use. Otherwise he will lose the measure by which he determines publishability." The ERIC experiment may provide such a guide.

Then Mr. Lieb comes to the crucial question of fair use:

"Exemptions permitting a nonprofit performance of nondramatic works and countenancing conventional li-

(Continued on page 39)

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Confessions of a Rebel: 1831

by C. Vann Woodward

In the annals of American slavery two figures stand out with unrivaled prominence among the very few who resorted to armed rebellion – John Brown and Nat Turner, one white and one black. The historical importance of their roles is roughly comparable and there is as much reason for enduring curiosity about the one as about the other. Of the two, Turner's rebellion

The Confessions of Nat Turner
by William Styron
(Random House; $6.95)

was far more bloody, both in the lives it took and in the reprisals it evoked. As a threat to the security of a slave based society, Turner's conspiracy was more momentous than Brown's. John Brown's Raid never had the remotest chance of success.

Yet there is a remarkable disparity in the amount that is known and in what has been written about the two men and their deeds. On John Brown there exists a vast library, forty-odd biographies, massive monographs, scores of poems, plays, and works of fiction. This is partly explained by the relative abundance of source materials. Brown left extensive (though misleading) accounts of himself and a large mass of correspondence. He was acquainted with some of the most prominent writers of his day. A few intellectuals were personally involved and many were passionately interested in his conspiracy and left their own records. Two congressional hearings and a mountain of archival material multiply the sources.

In striking contrast, the sources on Nat Turner and the scholarly as well as creative writing about him are minuscule. Since there were no white participants in the rebellion and the life of no white witness of the massacres was spared by the rebels, the information about the conspiracy boils down largely to twenty-odd pages of Turner's "Confessions" in the stilted prose of the Virginia lawyer to whom he dictated them in prison. Mainly on this and on a pedestrian monograph or two rests all we know of the only slave rebellion of consequence in the largest slave society in the 19th-century world.

If there were ever a free hand for a novelist, this was it. Yet the obstacles were formidable. There were no models. The only major American novelist to treat a slave rebellion was Melville, and *Benito Cereno* is viewed entirely through the eyes of the white man. Nat's story would have to be seen from behind the black mask. That was the boldest decision William Styron made. There was little to go on beyond the author's imagination. What history tells us about slavery is mainly the white man's experience, not the black man's – what it was like to *have* slaves, not what it was like to *be* slaves. No one has more than an ill-informed guess about why the greatest slave republic in the New World had by far the fewest rebellions; why smaller and allegedly more benevolent slave societies bred vast insurrections, blood baths involving many thousands of slaves that lasted scores of years, and America had one that recruited seventy-five and petered out in three days; why servility and submission were the rule and Sambo the stereotype and heritage of American slavery. And most of all, what explains the terrible enigma of Nat Turner, the other-worldly young carpenter of obscure origins and apocalyptic visions who at the age of thirty-one took the road to Jerusalem, Va., martyrdom, and immortality.

To complicate the enigma, the rebellion took place not in the brutal Delta cotton fields or the Louisiana sugar cane, but in mellowed, impoverished tidewater Virginia, where even Nat Turner thought there was "still an ebb and flow of human sympathy – no matter how strained and imperfect – between slave and master." And Nat himself was a product of benevolent, if unusual, paternalism at its best – fondly educated, trained in a craft, and promised liberation. The picture of Nat's life and motivation the novelist constructs is, but for a few scraps of evidence, without historical underpinnings, but most historians would agree, I think, not inconsistent with anything historians know. It is informed by a respect for history, a sure feeling for the period, and a deep and precise sense of place and time.

Nat was the child of a house servant and grew up in the big house, familiar with "the chink of silver and china" as well as his "black Negro world" of the kitchen, but not with the toil of field

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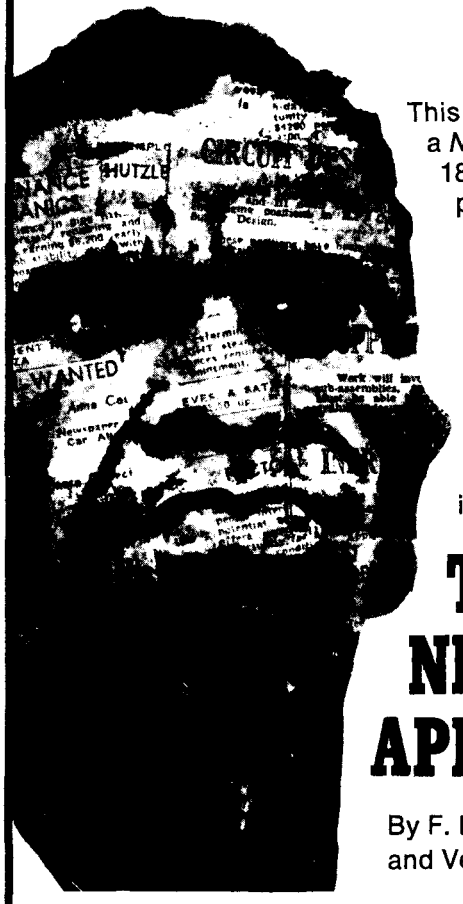

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and mill. His mistress taught him to read and gave him a Bible, of which he learned great parts by heart and knew better than the white preachers of the parish. He discovered his intelligence and his ability to charm, grew accustomed to love from all sides, and never encountered harshness or brutality. "I became in short a pet, the darling, the little black jewel of Turner's Mill. Pampered, fondled, nudged, pinched, I was the household's spoiled child." Toward his master, Samuel Turner, he felt a regard "very close to the feeling one should bear only toward the Divinity." Between them were "strong ties of emotion," in fact, "a kind of love." The master responded by giving encouragement, careful training, flattering responsibilities, and, three years before Nat came of age, the intoxicating promise of freedom. Toward the field hands beyond the big house perimeter little Nat felt a contemptuous disdain, regarding them as "a lower order of people – a ragtag mob, coarse, raucous, clownish, uncouth." He identified completely with his master and looking back later realized that had this life continued he would have achieved in old age "a kind of purse-lipped dignity, known as Uncle Nat, well loved and adoring in return, a palsied stroker of the silken pates of little white grandchildren."

But that life came to an end when Samuel Turner went bankrupt and moved to Alabama when Nat was twenty. Before leaving Virginia he placed Nat in the care of a poverty-ravaged, fanatical Baptist preacher under legal obligation to free his charge in a stated time. Instead, after giving Nat a year's taste of how degrading slavery could be, the preacher sold him for $460 to an illiterate brute named Moore, from whom he eventually passed into the hands of his last owner, Travis. Among the many harsh lessons these experiences taught Nat was "how greatly various were the moral attributes of white men who possessed slaves, how different each owner might be by way of severity or benevolence." They ranged "from the saintly," such as his first owner, "to a few who were unconditionally monstrous." Nat never fell into the hands of the last type, and his owner at the

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time of the rebellion generally behaved "like every slave's ideal master." Whatever accounts for Nat's rebellion, it was not the irrepressible rage of the intolerably oppressed. Instead, he observed, "the more tolerable and human white people became in their dealings with me, the keener was my passion to destroy them."

Nat was twenty and on the threshold of freedom before he suddenly realized what slavery was, "the *true* world in which a Negro moves and breathes. It was like being plunged into freezing water." A year later came his betrayal, the final shattering of the dream of freedom, and his submission to a master he knew to be his moral inferior, stupid, brutal, swinish. For nearly ten years his disciplined defense was to become "a paragon of rectitude, of alacrity, of lively industriousness, of sweet equanimity and uncomplaining obedience," the ideal slave. He had learned never to look a white man in the eye, how to smell danger, how like a dog "to interpret the *tone* of what is being said," how to assume "that posture of respect and deference it is wise for any Negro to assume" in the presence of a strange white man, and how to "merge faceless and nameless with the common swarm." He learned how, when necessary, to shuffle and scrape and adopt the egregious, gluey cornfield accents and postures of niggerness.

He became a discriminating connoisseur of Sambo types, those given to "wallowing in the dust at the slightest provocation, midriffs clutched in idiot laughter," those who "endear themselves to all, white and black, through droll interminable tales about ha'nts and witches and conjures," and at the other extreme those who "reverse this procedure entirely and in *their* niggerness are able to outdo many white people in presenting to the world a grotesque swagger," a posture suited to the black driver or the tyrannical kitchen mammy and butler, who were skilled in keeping "safely this side of insolence." For his own part, Nat "decided upon humility, a soft voice, and houndlike obedience." Yet he was always conscious of "the weird unnaturalness of this adopted role," always counseling himself "to patience, pa-

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tience, *patience* to the end," biding his time.

As he watched the potential recruits for his divine mission of vengeance and liberation he often despaired. His black brothers, "half drowned from birth in a kind of murky mindlessness," drifted before him "mouths agape or with sloppy uncomprehending smiles, shuffling their feet." They would suddenly seem to him "as meaningless and as stupid as a barnful of mules," and he would "hate them one and all." But this hatred would alternate with "a kind of wild, desperate love for them." The ambivalence came out in his feelings about Hark (originally named Hercules) whom he intended to make one of his lieutenants. Hark had "the face of an African chieftain," a godlike frame and strength, and a mortal grievance against his master for selling his wife and child. "Yet the very sight of white skin cowed him, humbled him to the most servile abasement." He drove Nat to incoherent rage when in the presence of any white he unconsciously became "the unspeakable bootlicking Sambo, all giggles and smirks and oily, sniveling servility." Hark's defense was that he was overcome by "dat black-assed feelin'," and Nat admitted to himself that the expression perfectly expressed "the numbness and dread which dwells in every Negro's heart."

Nat labored desperately to quell this fear in his recruits and to instill pride and confidence and blind faith in their leader. He clung to his faith that in every Sambo was a Nat Turner, that while "most Negroes are hopelessly docile, many of them are filled with fury," and that servility was "but a form of self-preservation." In the more desperate of them he counted upon the common postulate that "nigger life ain't worth pig shit" – they had nothing to lose.

It is one mark of William Styron's genius that he deliberately threw away the Christ symbol, which would have been irresistible to many novelists. For Nat was strictly Old Testament, the stuff of Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, the blood-stained righteousness of his somber Hebrew heroes, Joshua and David. He thought and spoke in the rhetoric of the Prophets and the Psalms and scriptural poetry weaves in and out of his ruminations. He fasted and prayed in the wilderness and waited for a sign. And the sign came: "Then swiftly in the very midst of the rent in the clouds I saw a black angel clothed in black armor with black wings outspread from east to west; gigantic, hovering, he spoke in a thunderous voice louder than anything I had ever heard: *'Fear God and give glory to Him for the hour of His judgment is come. . . '.*"

Against the hour of the bloodbath Nat had steeled himself in apocalyptic hatred, "hatred so pure and obdurate that no sympathy, no human warmth, no flicker of compassion can make the faintest nick or scratch upon the stony surface of its being." He had achieved this exaltation, he thought, by "knowing the white man at close hand," by becoming "knowledgeable about the white man's wiles, his duplicity, his greediness, and his ultimate depravity," and most of all by "having submitted to his wanton and arrogant kindness." Then when the moment came and the dread axe was poised over his master's head, Nat's hand palsied and the blow missed. Again and again between violent seizures of vomiting he tried to kill and failed. Initiative fell to a demented black monster maddened by a master's brutality. The only life Nat was able to take, among the scores slaughtered, was that of the one white person he still loved, a simple-hearted and sympathetic girl.

This is the most profound fictional treatment of slavery in our literature. It is, of course, the work of a skilled and experienced novelist with other achievements to attest his qualifications. It is doubtful, however, if the rare combination of talents essential to this formidable undertaking, a flawless command of dialect, a native instinct for the subtleties and ambivalences of race in the South, and a profound and unerring sense of place – Styron's native place as it was Nat Turner's – could well have been found anywhere else.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

C. Vann Woodward *is a historian who has written extensively about the American South.* Roger Hazelton *is Abbot Professor of Christian Theology at Andover Newton Theological School.*

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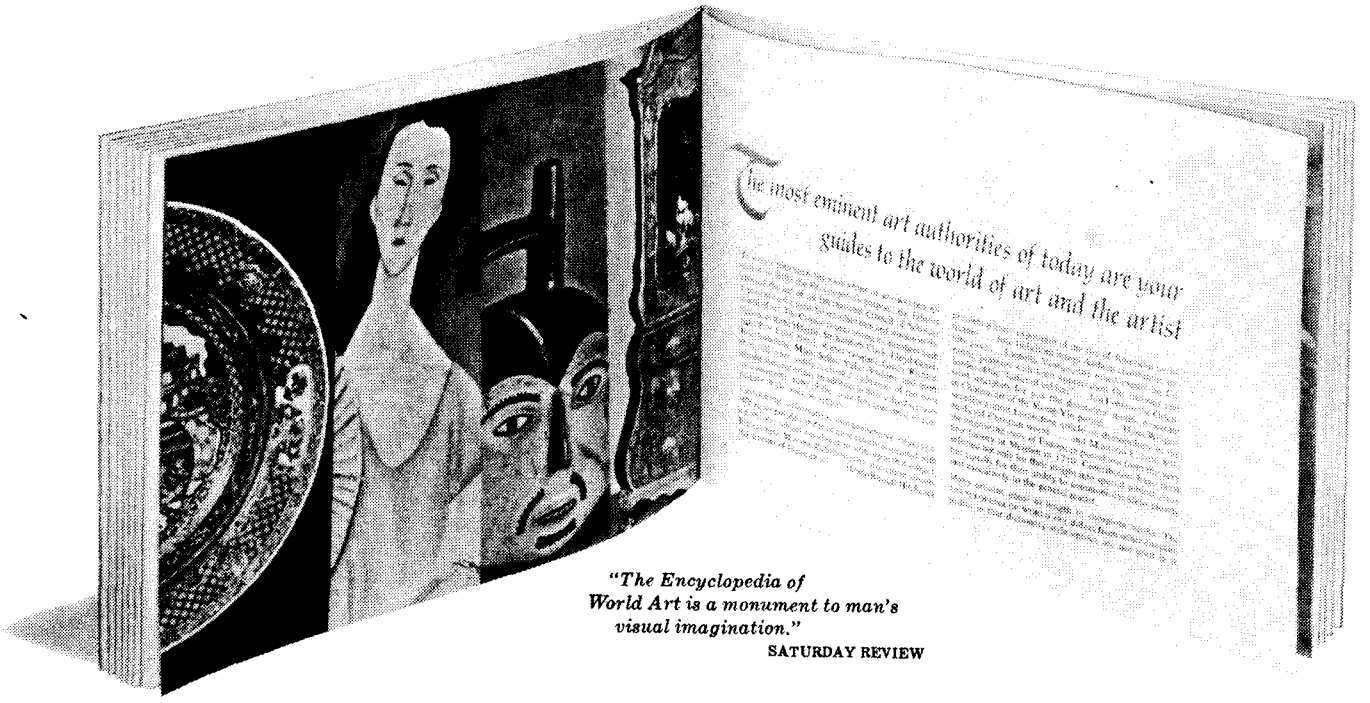

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by James A. Pike
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

Christian belief that is contemporary and relevant. Taken together, the two books reflect the whole course of this "very melancholy affair," as Ralph McGill of *The Atlanta Constitution* has called it. Melancholy or not, the controversy is fascinating. The authors of *The Bishop Pike Affair* are unabashedly pro-Pike, but they do not allow their sympathies to warp their perspective. Although far from condoning the House of Bishops' censure of Bishop Pike's utterances as "offensive," "highly disturbing," and "irresponsible," they at least make the censure appear humanly understandable and even perhaps institutionally inevitable.

The story has a hero but no villains. If there is any scoundrel it is the spirit of overriding concern for the image of the Episcopal Church which wants to put everything in the best possible light before the widest possible public. This attitude seems to have been shared by a majority of the House of Bishops voting the censure at Wheeling in October 1966. They claimed to have the interests of the whole church at heart, especially the "little people" who might easily be shocked or misled by Pike's boat-rocking proclivities. But Stringfellow and Towne demonstrate that there is no necessary connection between genuine pastoral concern and ecclesiastical conservatism.

A chief interest of the authors lies in exploring the relationship between theological and social liberalism in the Pike affair. The bishop in question is the personification of both, but how many of his fellow bishops voted to rebuke him for doctrinal deviation when they were actually motivated by dismay over Pike's involvement in such activities as the march on Selma, the drive to liberalize laws dealing with homosexuality and abortion, or a grape-pickers' strike in California? Proof is lacking, but the authors drop some dark hints and establish that Pike has now become a prime target for "ultra-right whites" within his own church. Stringfellow and Towne do not want to see these factions appeased by any action of the House of Bishops because they definitely view a *coup d'église* by such groups as "a realistic, and imminent, possibility."

Pike's own record on social issues is consistent and predictable, from civil rights to Vietnam. It may be wondered at by some outsiders that anyone with his record could have been elected and consecrated a bishop. The fact that it happened brings considerable credit to the Episcopal Church, with its enviable tradition of latitude and freedom. *The Bishop Pike Affair* could have been more generous in acknowledging this.

If This Be Heresy, Pike's own apologia and manifesto, indicates that he is less precise and coherent as a theological gadfly than he is as a social critic. The book is disappointingly slim and diffuse except on subjects like psychical research, extrasensory perception or psychedelic phenomena where Pike is evidently well informed. On traditional matters of Christian belief the bishop offers little more than snide potshots and learned asides, interspersed with clever sallies launched in the direction of "conventional Christianity," whatever that is. One searches in vain for sustained argument or thoughtful reinterpretation. Real issues are introduced only to get lost in cute phrasing and rhetorical questions. Astringent as the bishop's style is, it seldom cuts much theological ice.

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For all that, his new book contains much that is eminently discussible. It marks a decided shift from the "smooth orthodoxy" of his earlier writing to the "fewer beliefs, more belief" motif of his present mood. His current view is that a man's faith must begin neither with inherited ideas nor personal speculations, but with what can be known "factually" about his own existence as a matter of indubitable experience. True, Pike here stretches the concept of a fact very far, admitting as "relevant data" such experiences as clairvoyance and telepathy, for example, which he feels constitute positive indications of life after death. Even if such ancient doctrines as the Trinity or the Virgin Birth must be discarded, Pike argues that a "modest faith-affirmation" of an ultimate being worthy of the name God is a valid inference from the human data. We need not leave this world in order to be assured of the reality of another. What we must leave behind once and for all, he says, is the gratuitous and outmoded notion that the Bible, creeds or church councils are authoritative in determining our belief.

So the question for Pike – and about Pike – becomes simply this: What *is* the authority that should control expressions of Christian faith? If traditional bases and safeguards have to go, what is to take their place? In his response made to the House of Bishops at their first confrontation in Glacier Park, September 1965, Pike avowed that "no man has authority who is not under it." Right; then what does he acknowledge as having authority over himself? An early chapter of his book is devoted to showing how various authorities honored in the past, and indeed the very idea of authority itself, have now become suspect. But when a man stands on the brink of a trial for heresy, does he have nothing more positive to say than that?

The nearest approach to an answer comes, perhaps, in his stress upon "the *ought* which plausibly arises from the *is*." Obviously he wishes to naturalize the norms of human expression and endeavor, staying away as far as possible from supernatural sanctions and divine imperatives. But he does so at the risk of making his own actions and convictions as a churchman seem un-

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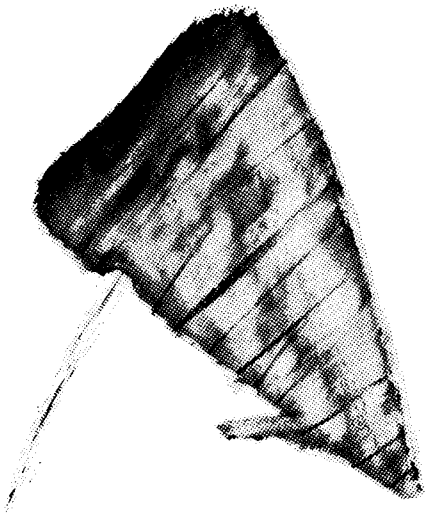
A CALL TO RESIST ILLEGITIMATE AUTHORITY



To the young men of America,
to the whole of the American people,
and to all men of good will everywhere:

1. An ever growing number of young American men are finding that the American war in Vietnam so outrages their deepest moral and religious sense that they cannot contribute to it in any way. We share their moral outrage.

2. We further believe that the war is unconstitutional and illegal. Congress has not declared a war as required by the Constitution. Moreover, under the Constitution, treaties signed by the President and ratified by the Senate have the same force as the Constitution itself. The Charter of the United Nations is such a treaty. The Charter specifically obligates the United States to refrain from force or the threat of force in international relations. It requires member states to exhaust every peaceful means of settling disputes and to submit disputes which cannot be settled peacefully to the Security Council. The United States has systematically violated all of these Charter provisions for thirteen years.

3. Moreover, this war violates international agreements, treaties and principles of law which the United States Government has solemnly endorsed. The combat role of the United States troops in Vietnam violates the Geneva Accords of 1954 which our government pledged to support but has since subverted. The destruction of rice, crops and livestock; the burning and bulldozing of entire villages consisting exclusively of civilian structures; the interning of civilian non-combatants in concentration camps; the summary executions of civilians in captured villages who could not produce satisfactory evidence of their loyalties or did not wish to be removed to concentration camps; the slaughter of peasants who dared to stand up in their fields and shake their fists at American helicopters; — these are all actions of the kind which the United States and the other victorious powers of World War II declared to be crimes against humanity for which individuals were to be held personally responsible even when acting under the orders of their governments and for which Germans were sentenced at Nuremberg to long prison terms and death. The prohibition of such acts as war crimes was incorporated in treaty law by the Geneva Conventions of 1949, ratified by the United States. These are commitments to other countries and to Mankind, and they would claim our allegiance even if Congress should declare war.

4. We also believe it is an unconstitutional denial of religious liberty and equal protection of the laws to withhold draft exemption from men whose religious or profound philosophical beliefs are opposed to what in the Western religious tradition have been long known as unjust wars.

5. Therefore, we believe on all these grounds that every free man has a legal right and a moral duty to exert every effort to end this war, to avoid collusion with it, and to encourage others to do the same. Young men in the armed forces or threatened with the draft face the most excruciating choices. For them various forms of resistance risk separation from their families and their country, destruction of their careers, loss of their freedom and loss of their lives. Each must choose the course of resistance dictated by his conscience and circumstances. Among those

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already in the armed forces some are refusing to obey specific illegal and immoral orders, some are attempting to educate their fellow servicemen on the murderous and barbarous nature of the war, some are absenting themselves without official leave. Among those not in the armed forces some are applying for status as conscientious objectors to American aggression in Vietnam, some are refusing to be inducted. Among both groups some are resisting openly and paying a heavy penalty, some are organizing more resistance within the United States and some have sought sanctuary in other countries.

6. We believe that each of these forms of resistance against illegitimate authority is courageous and justified. Many of us believe that open resistance to the war and the draft is the course of action most likely to strengthen the moral resolve with which all of us can oppose the war and most likely to bring an end to the war.

7. We will continue to lend our support to those who undertake resistance to this war. We will raise funds to organize draft resistance unions, to supply legal defense and bail, to support families and otherwise aid resistance to the war in whatever ways may seem appropriate.

8. We firmly believe that our statement is the sort of speech that under the First Amendment must be free, and that the actions we will undertake are as legal as is the war resistance of the young men themselves. In any case, we feel that we cannot shrink from fulfilling our responsibilities to the youth whom many of us teach, to the country whose freedom we cherish, and to the ancient traditions of religion and philosophy which we strive to preserve in this generation.

9. We call upon all men of good will to join us in this confrontation with immoral authority. Especially we call upon the universities to fulfill their mission of enlightenment and religious organizations to honor their heritage of brotherhood. **Now is the time to resist.**

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reasonable, not to say incredible. His effort to justify his right to speak and be heard deserves a better rationale than this odd mixture of empiricism and pragmatism eked out by elements strongly reminiscent of gnosticism. Authority, like freedom, cuts both ways. Neither can be exercised as a right without also being experienced as a trust. And in the end both come down to pretty much the same thing – a responsibility to "speak the truth in love," as an unconsecrated bishop named Paul declared long ago.

Premature Verdict on Warren

by Alexander M. Bickel

On Earl Warren's seventy-fifth birthday, President Johnson presented him with a photograph of himself – of the President, that is – inscribed to "The greatest Chief Justice of them all." That is not only a premature, but an improbable judgment. There is John Marshall, there is Charles Evans Hughes, there is a Chief Justice of the scholarly attainments of Harlan F. Stone, and they all have prior and better claims. Chief Justice Warren looms for his contemporaries as a personage of the first importance in the history of his time, because for them he is the symbol of the Supreme Court, and the Court which they identify with him has, during the period of his tenure, certainly had its impact on the national experience.

Warren: The Man, The Court, The Era
by John D. Weaver
(Little, Brown; $7.95)

How decisive a figure Earl Warren himself has been it is hardly possible to tell just yet. We will have to know a good bit more about the inner life of the Court during the fifteen years, so far, of Earl Warren's Chief Justiceship. It is a little soon, also, one might add, for definitive assessments of the Court's decisions during these years. Not all the new law that the Court has made may last, or work out as intended, or be deemed benign. A great deal remains to be seen. What can be said now is only that the appointment of Chief Justice Warren inaugurated, or coincided with, a new, interesting and highly active era in the history of the Court, that his Chief Justiceship opened with a bang, namely, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and that but for his appointment, that momentous case might have been decided by a divided rather than a unanimous Court, with consequences that would surely have been palpable.

At any rate, the Chief Justice, who was also, before his accession, a politician of some note, and who more recently headed the Commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy, will undoubtedly have his biographers. In Mr. Weaver, author of *Warren: The Man, The Court, The Era*, he has little more than a eulogist. A little more, for there is some factual reporting in the book, but there is virtually no detached appraisal.

The life story is hearteningly American. A fearless, incorruptible prosecutor, having risen from humble beginnings, becomes a decent, forward-looking, energetic governor, flirts with the Presidency, is a sympathetic Republican Vice-Presidential candidate in 1948, flirts with the Presidency again, and matures into a wise and good judge. He is vilified by the representatives of special interests and special prejudices, but he stands forth unscathed. Professors carp at him about the conceptual routes by which he arrives at his results, but he is a doer, not a theorizer, and remains unconcerned with such criticisms, as, he trusts, his posterity will be. Late in his career, he is drafted to perform the painful duty of investigating the assassination of an exciting and popular head of state. He discharges the un-

COMING

A New Look at William James

by Joseph Featherstone

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welcome responsibility firmly and courteously, judiciously and fearlessly, and earns for himself some more no-account vilification, being "a target too tall to miss and too proud to duck." He is big and friendly, a superb father and a born administrator, a faithful friend and a loyal alumnus, gentle but strong, direct and plain spoken, a hard taskmaster but fair.

This is the cardboard figure of our Chief Justice. As he views Warren now, in light of his judicial career, Mr. Weaver finds some blemishes on the civil libertarian record, not least of them Warren's support of the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast early in the Second World War. These blemishes are candidly reported, as is an occasional remark unfriendly to the Chief Justice from one or another of his California associates. Such instances of reportorial honesty are no help, however. They do not render the cardboard three-dimensional, and they nowhere divert the stream of eulogy. This man, it appears, is simply big enough to have strayed sometimes from the true path – which in itself is a plausible proposition, but a generalization, an abstraction, lifeless. This isn't Earl Warren, or anyone else, for the matter of that, but simply the ideal of a great and good law-giver, who reformed society, and who also had an earlier life, before he was called, and then, but only then, fell from grace once or twice.

It is too early for biography. The sources from which we can hope to know what the man really was and did in California, let alone what he has been and is doing on the Supreme Court, are not yet available. There is only the public record of actions and of state papers. On this record can be heaped praise or abuse, or both. Both have been. Mr. Weaver chooses praise. Neither substitutes adequately for critical judgment, which is also possible, although it must remain tentative. Some, if far from all, of the studies of the Warren Commission that have been published in the last couple of years offer critical judgment. So do scattered papers in professional journals. There is room for a book-length effort. Mr. Weaver's work is most distinctly nothing of the sort.

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Correspondence

Soul-Searching on Taxes

Sirs:

Joseph Pechman's "Soul-Searching on Taxes" (September 23) simply takes as "given" the huge government expenditures to fight the Vietnam war. Those of us in the economics profession who consider the war an outrageous aggression by the United States cannot accept these expenditures as a premise of policy discussion. We have no intention of advising Congress on the most efficient and "equitable" means of pursuing a course of action that is both immoral and contrary to our national interest. All our efforts must go instead toward eliminating expenditures whose effect is *worse* than pure waste – they defile the name of our country by imposing unrelieved slaughter, misery and injustice on the Vietnamese people.

Furthermore, this type of expenditure, unchecked, has long shown tendencies toward Parkinson-like proliferation that can swiftly carry us all into bigger and better disasters. Here lie the roots of the inflationary threat now and into the foreseeable future. The demands of the military-industrial complex can "grow up" to absorb any increases in revenue Congress will provide. (Witness the emergence of the $5 billion "thin" antimissile program, described by *The New York Times* as a "fish thrown to the cats," and a "thick" $40 billion program looming on the horizon.) In light of this, the tax increase proposed by Pechman is of rather minor importance, even from a narrow stabilization perspective.

Presumably, Pechman's statement is meant to be an application of "value free," clinical economics which can be employed within any given value system or political and social framework. But in this case, economic policy advice facilitates prosecution of a war that is rapidly altering the socio-political environment. To take only one example, it is symbolic of the present atmosphere that all thought of tax reform and loophole-closing has been dismissed by the Johnson administration. Such developments reflect the shift in attitudes and in the balance of power brought about largely by the decision of our statesmen to pursue their "grand designs" abroad (to use Professor Walter Heller's phrase). Thus, the notion that US policy in Vietnam is compatible with a progressive and decent society at home must be regarded as fantasy.

Richard B. Du Boff
Bryn Mawr College
Edward S. Herman
Univ. of Pennsylvania

The War and Senator McGovern

Sirs:

It is heartwarming to read of Senator McGovern's public distaste for the Vietnam war, but chilling to speculate on the reasons for his failure to use his position to do anything substantive to lever us out of this nightmare. Six months ago in *NR*, Senator McGovern rhetorically asked what he could do, and answered that he would "speak out" as much as possible. In a speech on April 25 he said, "I do not intend to remain silent in the face of what I regard as a policy of madness." And now, in his letter to *NR* (23 September), he says "that America has no commitment and no obligation to sacrifice our blood and our treasure" in Vietnam.

It is therefore interesting to note that when the Vietnam supplemental appropriations bill was voted upon in the Senate on 20 March, Senator McGovern was not one of the three senators who chose to go on record against it.

Senator McGovern would have us think of him as an "owl," rather than a "dove." A better ornithological comparison for him might be the cowbird, which lays its eggs in other birds' nests and then abandons its children.

Maxwell E. Siegel
New York, N. Y.

Highway Murder

Sirs:

I think that Joseph Kelner (in "Highway Murder" September 2) is correct in asserting that the new safety standards for automobiles will have a negligible effect on traffic fatalities. He rightly states that incompetent drivers cause most accidents. However, Mr.

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Kelner's proposed remedies do not get to the root of the problem. In most areas driving is virtually a necessity; there is simply no other suitable way to get to work. Thus, unless other provisions are made, persons who have had their licenses revoked will not stop driving. They will continue driving without licenses (and without insurance, creating other problems).

The situation is not hopeless. One obvious way of reducing traffic carnage is to develop better means of transportation. It has been clearly shown that rail transit can be far more efficient in terms of cost, time, and safety. (Mr. Kelner quotes statistics indicating that railways are over one hundred times safer than highways.) If governmental agencies would fully support rapid mass transit, then significant improvement would be possible in highway safety. The number of automobile travelers would decline, leaving highways less congested and less dangerous.

There is, of course, strong opposition to adequate transit systems from most of the industries dependent on highway travel. Nevertheless, if we are to reduce the number of traffic fatalities, we cannot rely on proposals such as Mr. Kelner offers.

James R. Self
Knoxville, Tennessee

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

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A clear statement. After which, incomprehensibly, Mr. Lieb goes on to call for "prompt enactment of S. 597 sub-

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stantially in its present form," which would sanction the very exemptions he has just questioned!

Some commentators have said that the matter is complicated because many of the books published today are based on research that has been done on government grants; and "a work prepared by an officer or employee of the United States Government as part of his official duties" may not be copyrighted. But is this really a fine line in many cases? A chemist working in a Department of Agriculture laboratory is surely in a different situation from one working at X University on a grant from the National Science Foundation. This would be an especially good time to make that distinction ultra-clear. After the disclosure of the government's secret finagling with the activities of intellectuals, one way to certify the independence of American intellectuals who are (necessarily) working on government grants is to make sure that the results of their work, as published by them, are their property. (Or else why isn't any man who gets his education on government scholarships and fellowships forever in hock to the government, even if he is subsequently self-employed and self-sustaining?)

Besides, many of the publications under discussion are not based on government-sponsored research, are not based on research in the laboratory sense at all.

Many points in this whole issue are not yet clear; the issue is too young. One thing *is* clear. The zoom in school population and in technological development has produced a fine flow of public spirit in those who have nothing at stake. As soon as we read of any electronics firm supplying free computers to the government or free television equipment to schools and educational networks, then we can all agree that authors are bad citizens in asking to be paid for the educational use of their work.

Note, too, the sociological shape of some recent financial developments in publishing. Electronics and publishing draw closer and closer. Here are some electronics firms and the publishing houses, in parentheses, of which they have bought control in the last few years. RCA (Random House); CBS (Holt, Rinehart & Winston); ITT (Howard Sams); Raytheon (D.C. Heath); Bell and Howell (Merrill). IBM, Xerox, and General Electric have joined with Time, Inc. to form General Learning, an educational publishing firm. The reverse flow is also noticeable: Harcourt, Brace & World now has licenses for UHF television stations in Colorado and Georgia and has applied for four more in other states. Doubleday has lately bought a chain of eight radio and television stations in the Southwest.

In all this media merging and surging, the book, far from disappearing as a linear antique, is at least as important as it ever was; is, in fact, *more important because it is the foundation* stone on which all these ramified structures rest, is still the form into which the analysis and thought of a man must first go. One can make a film of, say, certain scientific processes, but the information behind a process cannot be preserved, cannot even be programmed for a computer, unless it is written down. This imperative may pass; it has not yet passed. Meanwhile the laborer is still worthy of his hire, and the fact that new ways exist to utilize his work only emphasizes this, I should think, rather than the reverse.

There is something either sappy or insidious in the "fair use" provisions of S. 597, something that seems to reflect widely held views. There is almost a feeling of vengeance – as if some people had been smarting for decades under the necessity to pay authors for the use of their work and were now using the electronic explosion as a great blurry sentimental bludgeon. Education is the sacred word that is supposed to reveal greed in the greedy. Precisely because there is increased need and use for the author's work, he is not to be paid for that extra use. (And of course legislators look good to their constituents for lowering – or at least not proportionately raising – expenditures of public money on schoolbooks.)

The fact that the use is not for profit does not transmit the author himself to a nonprofit world. He probably has children of his own to keep in school. S. 597 and its House counterpart need changing; or every communications advance will be a potential blow at authors.

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